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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 2, February 1984

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15 May 1984

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN  
No. 2, February 1984

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## ENDEAVORING TO BUILD STRONG, SOLID DISTRICT PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] The resolutions of the 4th and 5th National Congresses of our party stressed the strategic importance of building the districts and strengthening the district level in the implementation of the line on building our country's economy in the initial stage of the process of socialist industrialization. Building the districts and strengthening the district level are the important elements of decisive significance in the performance of our socio-economic tasks in the years ahead. The resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee pointed out: "Accelerating the building of the districts and the strengthening of the district level is a very important task, one that will lay the groundwork for the performance of the socio-economic tasks set forth in the plans for 1983 and the 3 years from 1983 to 1985."

In recent years, especially since the 5th National Congress, under the light of the resolutions of the party and through the efforts of the various sectors and levels as well as the positive actions taken by the districts themselves, many districts have begun to bring about new changes in socio-economic development within their localities. The leadership and management qualifications of numerous districts, villages, cooperatives and other production and business installations have been raised to a new level. In many districts, district and installation leadership agencies have begun to adopt new ways of thinking and planning; they are making every effort to develop the potentials and strengths of their localities and units in a spirit of activism, initiative and self-reliance, thus rapidly creating a position from which they can move forward to a new level of development. In some districts, the first signs of coordination between agriculture and industry, between production and distribution-circulation and between the economy and living conditions have emerged in keeping with the guidelines set forth in the various resolutions of the party.

Through the movement to build the districts and through the performance of the political tasks of the party, many district and installation party organizations have grown and been strengthened; some party organizations have made rapid progress. To date, 69 district party organizations in 37 provinces

and municipalities have been awarded the "strong and solid district party organization" banner by the Party Secretariat and hundreds of installation party organizations have been commended and awarded the "strong, solid and pure basic party organization" banner by their provincial or municipal party committees.

This change and the model units (districts, villages, stations, farms and so forth) that are emerging in ever increasing numbers confirm the correctness of our party's policy of building the districts and strengthening the district level. However, this change has not been strong or uniform. There are still many districts and installations that are weak, deficient and developing slowly.

One important problem that we face in promoting the implementation of the party's policy on building the districts and strengthening the district level and laying the groundwork for the successful performance of socio-economic tasks is the need to take positive steps to build strong and solid district party organizations throughout the country. All sectors, levels and district party organizations, including those that have been commended as being strong and solid district party organizations, must make even greater efforts in the performance of this task.

The resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum and Council of Ministers' Resolution number 50, on the basis of examining the positive factors that have emerged and correct trends of development as well as the obstacles and inertia encountered in the building of the districts, set forth many positive policies and measures designed to further heighten the responsibility and the display of initiative and creativity on the part of the district level, thereby creating new factors and establishing the conditions needed for the districts to make more rapid progress.

With the experiences that have been gained, the advances that have been made and the above mentioned new advantages in our favor, we have all the conditions needed to accelerate the building of strong and solid district party organizations (which includes the building of strong, solid and pure installation party organizations) that truly serve as the stable leadership nucleus and are the moving force stimulating the gradual but successful development of the districts into districts that possess a developed agro-industrial economic structure and gradually improve the standard of living of the people, into solid fortresses defending the fatherland. The Party Secretariat directive on the building of strong and solid district party organizations set forth the target of this effort as: "All district party organizations must endeavor to become 'strong and solid district party organizations'; by 1985, a large number of districts, especially key economic and national defense districts, must meet the requirements of a 'strong and solid district party organization'; all other districts must make new, clear progress and an effort must be made to insure that no districts remain weak and deficient."

The building of strong and solid district party organizations must reflect a full understanding of the two strategic revolutionary tasks and meet the following five requirements:

1. Providing the leadership needed to successfully carry out socio-economic, military and security tasks in exact accordance with the lines and policies of the party and in a spirit of activism and initiative.

2. Providing the leadership needed to uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people and launching strong revolutionary movements of the masses.

3. Attaching importance to building the party base, the corps of party members and basic units; the organizations of the party and state, the mass organizations and economic organizations on the basic level must be improved and strengthened.

4. The district party committee must be strengthened, must establish unity and consensus on the basis of the lines and principles of the party and must fulfill its leadership function well; the government, the mass organizations and the management apparatus on the district level must conduct their activities with greater effectiveness.

5. Cadre planning must be formulated and carried out well as must the elementary and advanced training of the various types of cadres.

The five requirements presented above are targets and guidelines as well as the standards for appraising and evaluating the progress made by the district party organizations.

The foremost standard and most general target regarding a strong and solid district party organization are providing the leadership needed to successfully carry out socio-economic, national defense and security tasks in exact accordance with the lines and policies of the party and with good, sound results.

In economic leadership, the key requirement is to focus all efforts on accelerating agricultural production for the purposes of successfully resolving the grain and food problem, supplying raw materials to industry and supplying agricultural products for exportation while accelerating the production of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, coordinating agriculture with industry from the very outset at installations and within the scope of districts and gradually establishing an agro-industrial economic structure (or agro-forestry-industrial or agro-fishing-industrial and so forth) in accordance with regional planning and the special characteristics of the locality. It is necessary to closely coordinate production with distribution and circulation and produce an increasingly large output of products and commodities; necessary to fulfill the obligation to deliver grain, food products and agricultural products to the state; necessary to properly organize procurements, the effort to control the sources of goods and market management; and necessary to wage an effective struggle against dishonest merchants and those persons who earn their livings illegally.

Together with providing the leadership needed to accelerate production, importance must be attached to strengthening and improving the new socialist production relations, correcting the mistakes that have been made in the

implementation of product contracts at agricultural cooperatives and urgently and successfully carrying out the transformation of agriculture and private industry and commerce at those places where transformation has yet to be completed. Concern must be shown for organizing the material and cultural lives of the people well.

A strong and solid district party organization must also know how to closely coordinate the economy with the national defense system, coordinate the national defense system with the economy; build the district into a fortress firmly defending the fatherland; wage an effective struggle against the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists; provide good leadership of military activities within the locality; correctly implement the army's rear area policies; and maintain political security and social order and safety.

Emphasizing socio-economic, national defense and security leadership requirements does not mean that the district party organizations can give light attention to the other requirements they face. Moreover, only by properly and fully meeting the requirements regarding upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people, launching strong revolutionary movements of the masses, strengthening the organizations of the party and government, the mass organizations and the various economic organizations and building the corps of district and installation cadres is it possible to establish the conditions needed to reach new pinnacles in the effort to meet economic and national defense leadership requirements.

As the leadership nucleus of the district party organization, the district party committee plays an especially important role in the struggle to build a strong and solid district party organization. The district party committee, beginning with its standing committee, must have a firm grasp of the lines and viewpoints of the party, be united in thought and action, possess high fighting strength and continuously improve its ability to lead and organize. Making improvements to party work, inspections and cadre work is the key to insuring the leadership of the party. It is necessary to draft and correctly implement regulations governing the work of the party committee that insure the proper implementation of the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state provides management" and the principles regarding the organization and activities of the party. The coordination among organizations must be properly guided with a view toward achieving the target of building the districts in every respect.

The recent district party organization congresses replaced more than 40 percent of district party committee members; more than 50 percent of the new district party committee members have attended middle and high level classes in political theory; and 34 percent of district party committee members have a college or middle school education in economics or technology.

However, the district party committees are still weak in some areas: their ability to provide comprehensive leadership is still weak compared to the tasks of the district level; some key district leadership cadres still possess limited skills and many have not studied economic management. Therefore, importance must continue to be attached to strengthening the district party



committees and providing their members with training to deepen their knowledge and improve their leadership skills.

To succeed in building strong and solid district party organizations, it is necessary to have a firm grasp of the following several basic viewpoints:

--First, the building of strong and solid district party organizations must be closely linked to building the district and strengthening the district level.

Building the district is the foremost and overriding political task of the districts at this time. The purpose of building strong and solid district party organizations is to insure success in the work of building the districts. As a result, the requirements and specific jobs involved in the building of the districts must be considered the targets and guidelines for strengthening the various organizations, strengthening the corps of cadres and party members and improving the fighting strength and the leadership ability of the district party organization.

The district party committee must fully understand and apply the lines, positions and policies of the party to the specific circumstances of their locality and establish political tasks precisely as they are defined in economic and national defense planning and plans. They must provide closer guidance of implementation, launch mass movements and adjust the organization and deployment of cadres and party members to insure the successful performance of these tasks. The activities of the various organizations of the party on the district and basic levels must be based on the requirements involved in the building of districts and create favorable conditions for this work to be carried out. Everything that separates the building of the district party organization from the building of the district and the strengthening of the district level is a mistake and cannot help make the district party organization a strong and solid party organization.

--Secondly, the building of a strong and solid district party organization must be closely linked to building and strengthening the basic organizations of the party.

In order for a district party organization to become a strong and solid party organization, the vast majority of the basic party organizations within the district must be rated strong, solid and above average and none can be deficient or inferior. Therefore, the various party committee echelons must concern themselves with building basic party organizations that are strong, solid and pure and must do so in a manner that is closely coordinated with building strong and solid basic units. Of utmost importance is the need to take positive steps to completely eliminate the problem of basic organizations that are weak, deficient and developing slowly and uniformly upgrade all basic organizations. The main purpose of building the districts and strengthening the district level is to heighten the impact that the district level has upon the basic level so that it both guides and supports the basic level well.

--Thirdly, it is necessary to strengthen, in a well coordinated manner, the organizations on the district and basic levels, which consist of the network

of party organizations, the government, mass organizations and economic organizations.

In order to build the districts and build strong and solid district party organizations, it is necessary, together with strengthening the district party committee, to simultaneously strengthen the district people's committee, the sector committees on the district level and the various organizations on the basic level to insure uniform organizational strength and stability from the district to the basic levels and insure that these organizations are fully effective.

Within the next several years, we must endeavor to insure that the district party committees truly become strong leadership collectives that are fully capable of effectively guiding economic activities and all other activities; that the district people's committees are truly capable of organizing and directing economic management and administrative-social management tasks within the district; that the mass organizations appropriately improve the substance of their activities and the methods by which they are conducted; and that staff agencies are skilled in a specialized technical field, are skilled in management and can properly fulfill their staff function for the district party committee and people's committee while serving as the base in the building of economic-technical sectors that grow in a vigorous manner. At the same time, every effort must be made to insure that the organizations of the party, the government, the mass organizations and the economic organizations on the basic level make corresponding marked progress.

--Fourthly, the corps of district and basic level cadres must be built in a well coordinated and well balanced manner.

This is the key in organizational work. In the immediate future, the provincial and municipal party committees must re-examine how the corps of key district cadres is deployed in order to deploy it correctly. They must transfer and assign additional cadres to districts, primarily to key economic and national defense districts and districts that still lack cadres, especially in the South and the mountains. Every district must have strong leadership cadres, strong cadres in charge of the various sectors and the necessary number of competent economic, technical, specialized and professional cadres. Importance must be attached to the proper deployment and training of the corps of basic level cadres.

The various party committee echelons must adopt planning and plans for training and building the corps of district cadres and basic level cadres in a manner consistent with the requirements involved in building the district economic structure and in planning the building of the district. Attention must be given to training cadres who are local persons, especially in the mountain districts and the districts of the Central Highlands and former Nam Bo.

Building strong and solid district party organizations is an important job of the entire party, is the responsibility of all sectors and levels. Experience has shown that the district party organizations cannot make strong progress through their own efforts alone.

The ministries and sectors on the central level must urgently perform those jobs that lie within the scope of their responsibility as defined in the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum and Council of Ministers' Resolution number 50. In particular, they must quickly define their economic planning, correct the existing problems with regard to the management system and policies and stimulate the assignment of economic management responsibilities and responsibilities in other areas to the districts in a manner that is properly coordinated. State agencies have been slow to concretize and guide the implementation of many matters set forth in the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum concerning building the district level and assigning management responsibilities to the districts. This situation must be corrected at an early date.

The provincial and municipal party committees must do more to guide, inspect and supervise the implementation of the policy on assigning management responsibilities to the districts and the performance of the other work involved in building the districts and strengthening the district level. The guidance that the districts receive from the provincial and municipal party committees must be improved. On the basis of classifying and correctly evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of each district, positive measures must be taken to strengthen each district and clear targets and deadlines must be established for every district. They must apply the experiences learned at the recent conferences to exchange experiences concerning the building of strong and solid district party organizations in order to rapidly upgrade weak and deficient districts to the level of the other districts.

It is necessary to launch a movement to build the districts, build strong and solid district party organizations and build strong, solid and pure basic party organizations. All districts and installations must actively participate in this movement. Depending upon its circumstances and special characteristics, each district should focus its efforts on matters of key importance, on areas in which it is still weak in order to correct these weaknesses, discover positive factors and develop upon them. As regards key economic and national defense districts, provinces must provide them with close guidance and take positive steps to help them rapidly meet the requirements of a strong and solid district party organization. The districts that have been recognized as strong and solid district party organizations must endeavor to achieve increasingly high quality of a more comprehensive nature. Depending upon the function and task of each place, the basic organizations of the party must supplement the five requirements of their party organization in a way closely associated with the five requirements regarding the building of strong and solid district party organizations and make a positive contribution toward implementing the policy on building the districts and strengthening the district level.

We must do our very best to implement, in a truly successful manner, the policy on building strong and solid district party organizations in a manner closely linked to building the districts and strengthening the district level with a view toward insuring that we successfully carry out and meet the socio-economic tasks and goals set forth at the 5th National Congress and in the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, thereby making positive contributions to building socialism and defending the fatherland.

EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS CONCERNING BUILDING THE DISTRICTS AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT LEVEL: AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 7-13

[Article by Vu Oanh, chief of the Department of Agriculture of the Party Central Committee]

[Text] Editorial Note: the resolutions of the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party stressed the strategic importance of building the districts and strengthening the district level. The resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers' Resolution number 50 set forth many positive policies and measures designed to promote this work. Recently, the Party Secretariat issued a directive on building strong and solid district party organizations in a manner closely linked to the building of districts and the strengthening of the district level.

Beginning with this issue, in order to make positive contributions to the implementation of this important policy, TAP CHI CONG SAN is initiating a section entitled "Exchange of Opinions on Building the Districts and Strengthening the District Level." It is hoped that you will attentively follow and write articles to participate in this exchange of opinions.

I. Creatively Applying the Line of the Party and Advancing Agriculture One Step Closer to Large-Scale Socialist Production Within the Scope of the District

During the past 3 years (1981-1983), under the light of the general line and the economic line of the party and on the basis of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee, several new economic management policies promulgated by the party and state have created new sources of vitality in work and production and led to very meaningful changes within the national economy. Exciting results were achieved in agricultural production.

In production: grain output exceeded 15 million tons in 1981, a 630,000 ton increase compared to 1980. In 1982, 16.26 million tons were produced, an increase of nearly 1.2 million tons over 1981. In 1983, roughly 17 million tons were produced, an increase of more than 700,000 tons compared to 1982. Grain output per capita rose from 267 kilograms in 1980 to 273 kilograms in

1981, 285.8 kilograms in 1982 and 300 kilograms in 1983. Marked advances were made in the production of industrial crops, the exportation of agricultural products and processed agricultural products and livestock production.

--Initial advances were also made in the organization and management of agriculture. The final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers at agricultural cooperatives created the conditions for making better use of the potentials lying in labor and arable land, applying technological advances in production and shifting to cost accounting and regular business procedures. Many districts made numerous efforts and brought about changes that have resulted in new conditions for the development of agriculture.

Due to the results mentioned above, the standard of living of farmers has been stabilized and even markedly improved at some places. The new production relations within agriculture have been further strengthened and cooperatives are working in a more efficient and productive manner, have raised their output and are fulfilling higher obligations to the state. The income of cooperative members has risen and some cooperatives have begun to accumulate capital. Some of the difficulties encountered by the national economy have been alleviated, primarily the difficulties with grain and food products, raw materials for industry and agricultural products for exportation.

The results described above prove that our party's line is correct, prove that the new economic positions and policies of the party and state have been and are bringing about new changes in work and production.

However, despite the above mentioned achievements, there are still major difficulties in the socio-economic situation, in general, and agriculture, in particular, and we face many pressing problems that must be resolved.

Foremost among these problems is the fact that production is still increasing at a slow rate, especially in view of the rate of population growth, and has, in some areas, been stagnated for many years. While production is still increasing at a slow rate, the potentials that lie in our labor, arable land, trade sectors, science-technology and existing material and technical bases have not been highly developed in order to truly bring about a change in the agricultural situation.

In order to meet the pressing requirements of everyday life and the national economy, the tasks of agriculture during the 3 years from 1983 to 1985 are:

--Successfully resolving the grain and food problem in accordance with the requirements set forth in the various resolutions of the party.

--Providing a full supply of raw materials to existing processing plants so that they can be operated at full capacity and meeting the expanded need for processing by hand and by small industry within the various localities, especially within the scope of the district, in order to provide a better supply of some essential consumer goods.

--Accelerating exports, meeting its own needs in the importation of supplies, equipment and machinery for agriculture and eventually accumulating capital for socialist industrialization.

--Completing agricultural transformation in Nam Bo and perfecting the new production relations throughout the country.

To complete the above mentioned tasks well, our country's agriculture must soon perfect a strategy for development designed to achieve the following:

1. Making full use of labor and arable land and developing the trade sector so that all land that can be used in production (including the forests, hills, bodies of water and so forth) produces products and each laborer has a job; applying the latest scientific and technical knowledge, establishing guidelines for the production of each crop and species of livestock, establishing suitable growing seasons and developing every form of organization of production and management system suited to coordinating labor with arable land and the trade sector; developing the strengths of each locality in accordance with the planning of the entire country, developing general businesses that yield the highest possible economic returns per hectare, developing economic ties among installations, districts and provinces and creating new strengths and a new efficiency at each installation, within each locality and throughout the country.

2. Practicing a high level of intensive cultivation in the production of all crops and species of livestock while expanding the amount of area under cultivation by means of multicropping and the clearing of land and covering barren hills and sand dunes with vegetation; taking many measures to redistribute labor.

3. Fully developing the potentials of the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy by means of a mechanism that provides for a rational division of labor and production ties.

4. Making effective use of existing material-technical bases and promoting exports in the spirit of "the central level and the locality working together" in order to create new supply balances; making selective investments that yield the most rapid returns possible and rapidly introducing technological advances in production; directly linking the network of stations, farms and technical institutes and the corps of technical cadres to production for the purpose of rapidly creating a new production force within agriculture.

5. Establishing an appropriate management mechanism, encompassing everything from planning procedures to a system of policies designed to provide more incentive for laborers, installations and localities to develop agriculture.

6. Closely linking agriculture to industry and production to distribution-circulation and transportation.

It is the district that is the area within which the above mentioned major policies of strategic significance are to be implemented. Building the districts and strengthening the district level are a strategic task designed

to change the present situation within agriculture and gradually advance it to large-scale socialist production.

## II. Building an Agro-Industrial District Economic Structure

One of the most important and pressing elements and the issue that demands the greatest creativity in the building of the districts is that of successfully establishing a new agro-industrial (or other forms of coordination, such as agro-forestry-fishing-industrial) economic structure.

In the fraternal socialist countries, coordinating agriculture and industry means "industrializing agriculture," the main elements of which are industrializing the production of instruments of production for agriculture (implements, fertilizer, chemicals and so forth), industrializing the agricultural production process (mechanizing and automating production) and industrializing the processing, preservation, storage and transportation of agricultural products.

In our country, in the initial stage of the period of transition, when defining the specifics involved in coordinating agriculture with industry and industry's impact upon agriculture within the scope of the district, we must do so on the basis of the requirements of agricultural development and on the basis of expanding production and the division of labor within agriculture in order to achieve an initial division of labor between agriculture and industry. Specifically:

First, the potentials that lie in labor and arable land (including the forests, hills, bodies of water and so forth) and a skillful coordination of labor with arable land must be employed to develop agriculture, forestry and fishing to insure that we resolve the grain and food problem well and produce many processed raw materials for industry and local raw materials with which to expand the small industry and handicraft trades.

Secondly, agriculture must practice intensive cultivation and specialized farming. Industry within the district must properly meet agriculture's needs for irrigation and drainage, mechanized plowing, building materials, lime for fields, implements, communications-transportation, product processing and so forth, primarily on a small and medium scale with common and improved implements coordinated with partial mechanization.

Thirdly, through product trade with markets outside the district or through exportation, additional raw materials, supplies and so forth must be obtained by the district on its own in order to develop its sectors and trades and equip agriculture with technology.

Thus, industry within the district is essentially small industry and the handicraft trades and supports the requirements of developing agriculture, forestry and fishing and the broadening of the division of labor within agriculture. Therefore, the primary form of coordination between agriculture and industry at this time is coordination at each agricultural cooperative, as a result of which the structure of every cooperative's production is both specialized and general, is based on both agricultural production and a

business in the trade sector. At the same time, it is necessary to establish within the scope of the district a number of production organizations and technical services of an industrial nature, such as shops producing and repairing tools, transportation enterprises and the various stations and farms, with special importance attached to those industries that process agricultural products, forestry products, marine products, etc.

The principal measures that must be taken to establish a district agro-industrial economic structure as described above are:

First, it is necessary to reorganize production and establish a new division of labor. These two efforts are related to and stimulate each other, are the basis for the formation of the district economic structure.

To begin with, the districts must adjust and amend their production planning to suit their natural, economic and social conditions as well as the new situation that exists now. They should conduct a partial review of the process of determining the direction of development and the methods of operation of each type, especially those districts that have undergone true economic change, in order to adjust and amend their planning accordingly.

In keeping with the above mentioned adjustments and amendments to their planning, the districts must reorganize the utilization of arable land, reorganize the allocation of crops and livestock as well as the production seasons and reorganize the various technical factors and trade sectors for the purpose of effectively implementing their guidelines for specialized production coordinated with general, full-scale businesses.

Once they have rearranged and reorganized their production, the districts must carry out the redistribution of labor along the lines of coordinating agriculture and industry and insuring that each laborer has a job. Through economic ties established within the district or with other districts, it is necessary to make full use of labor and use the labor performed under obligations and the mandays contributed by the people under the guideline "the state and the people working together" to build material-technical bases and stimulate change within the district economic structure.

Secondly, an effort must be made to resolve the grain problem well (for both humans and livestock) and eventually establish grain reserves. Facts have shown that only by resolving the grain problem can the conditions be established for becoming deeply involved in specialization and broadening the division of labor within the trade sector. Those districts that are engaged chiefly in the production of grain must, in order to break the cycle of monoculture, practice the intensive cultivation of grain crops and change their economic structure along the lines of coordinating agriculture and industry by practicing multicropping and allocating a small amount of land for cultivation of annual industrial crops. Those districts that produce grain with difficulty must establish economic ties by means of product trade in order to obtain additional grain.

Thirdly, it is necessary to carry out distribution and circulation well and build the district market to support production and everyday life well.



This market must first be organized for the purpose of establishing good product trade and distribution between the state and cooperatives and expanding product trade among cooperatives, among districts and between districts and foreign countries through exports and imports in order to gradually expand the district's supply of materials and goods and promote the formation of the new economic structure.

Fourthly, there must be economic ties in the fields of production, contract work and product trade among the districts to supplement the district's supply of materials and goods in order to insure that the district's production is carried out in accordance with its planning and plans.

Fifthly, it is necessary to quickly put the production installations managed by the district (agricultural cooperatives, small industry and handicraft cooperatives, the various stations and farms, stores, corporations and so forth) under cost accounting to insure high economic efficiency and accumulate capital at installations while increasing the district's budget in coordination with mobilizing capital among the people for the purpose of gradually expanding production in accordance with the established economic structure.

With regard to building the economic structure of the district, very much attention must also be given to coordinating the economy with the national defense system; at the same time, the development of production must be coordinated with the building of the new, socialist countryside.

### III. Strengthening the Agricultural Production Cooperatives

The guidelines for strengthening the agricultural production cooperatives at this time are to raise their organization of production to a new level of development, establish the new management system and perfect the final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers so that cooperatives truly become a production-business-cost accounting economic organization, develop their production, strengthen the new production relations, strengthen the collective economy and improve the living standard of cooperative members.

On the basis of the above mentioned guidelines, attention must be given to the following important requirements:

Improving all areas of organization and establishing the new management system within cooperatives:

--To begin with, it is necessary to stabilize the size and organization of cooperatives. As regards the cooperatives in the mountains and midlands, at which the various elements of the collective economy have yet to be clearly established, the size of cooperatives and how they organize their production should be based on the state's policy of assigning land and forests to cooperatives for their management and based on the coordination of agriculture and forestry.

--Once the size and organization of cooperatives have been stabilized, it is necessary to adjust their production guidelines in a way that coordinates

agriculture, forestry, and fishing, coordinates agriculture with the trade sector and production with processing and circulation in order to make full use of labor and arable land, develop the collective economy, encourage the development of the household economy and establish ties between the collective economy and the household economy, the district economy and other cooperatives so that every cooperative specializes in one area of production and operates a general business as well, through which it can gradually expand the scale of production and improve the cooperative economy.

--Material-technical bases must be reorganized so that they can be used effectively. We must continue to build new material-technical bases that enable cooperatives to perform their "five jobs" in order to perfect the new contract system and constantly introduce technological advances in production.

--Importance must be attached to the basic production units, considering them to be the main form of organization of labor within the cooperative. Specialized production units must be organized in a manner consistent with the level of technical equipment and the requirements involved in introducing technological advances at cooperatives.

--As regards establishing the new management system, it is first of all necessary to conduct good planning. The plan of the cooperative must be a production, finance and distribution plan, must integrate the plans of the household economy and, finally, must be expressed in the product contract plans of all sectors.

The system of quotas and job grades must be developed and supplemented to serve as the basis of planning, the assignment of contracts and cost accounting.

Cost accounting itself must be improved. To begin with, accounting must encompass the reasonable production costs of each type product and the business transactions of each sector as well as the business activities of the entire cooperative. Through accounting, we must guide and regulate production in such a way that insures the successful implementation of the production costs plan and the profit plan and, in this way, carry out the cooperative's accumulation of capital plan as well as the plan regarding the value of the manday worked by cooperative members.

As regards the establishment of the system of prices within cooperatives, in addition to the directed prices in two-way economic contracts with the state, it is necessary to establish negotiated prices for the trade and marketing of products that lie outside the scope of the state plan and establish internal prices that provide for a specific margin of profit in order to market and distribute the products of the cooperative to its members.

The responsibilities and rights of the corps of management cadres (from the unit level upward) regarding distribution must be linked to the final product of cooperative members who accept contracts and to the percentage of the cooperative's production-business plan that is completed.

## Perfecting the product contract system:

Organizing production and establishing the management system in the ways described above lays the foundations needed to help perfect the product contract system.

However, the product contract system itself must be further improved.

To begin with, it is necessary to quickly expand the product contract system to all products in which the cooperative does business (to include crop production, livestock production and the trade sector) and all areas of the management of the instruments of production (the raising of draft buffalo and cattle by the cooperative, the management of implements and so forth), thereby virtually eliminating the problem of "work points being awarded for work not done," a problem that affects economic efficiency and the value of the manday set forth in the plan.

As regards rice product contracts, attention must be given to the following three matters of major importance:

--Establishing contract quotas that are commensurate with production costs, are consistent with new technological advances introduced in production and insure that the cooperative earns a profit. At present, the contract quotas of many cooperatives are still low, even very low at some places.

--Correctly defining who is eligible to receive a contract, namely, laborers engaged in crop production. Depending on the specific situation at each cooperative, the granting of rice product contracts can be coordinated with the granting of contracts to other workers (the trade sector, management cadres and so forth).

--As regards cooperation between the "five jobs" and the "three jobs" within cooperatives, efforts must be made to raise the level of organization of production and build material-technical bases so that this cooperation can be universally established in the years ahead; in the immediate future, contracts must be devised in a way that insures that the cooperative manages all eight jobs.

Together with the above mentioned activities of cooperatives, the state must soon research and promulgate the necessary supplemental policies, especially with regard to the planning system at cooperatives, the procurement policy and the price policy. In the immediate future, it is necessary to correctly implement two-way economic contracts with cooperatives and link the responsibility and interests of the network of stations and farms and the stores supporting production within the district to the production results of cooperatives.

## IV. Building the Economic Management System and the Management of Production Within the District

In order for a district to become an economic unit, we must, of course, establish for the district a suitable economic management system, one which

insures that the district can complete the tasks assigned to it by the upper level while displaying initiative and creativity, upholding the right of collective ownership of the people and successfully resolving the problems encountered in developing production and improving the standard of living of the people within the district.

Although the state and the sectors on the central level have done some work in this area, we must continue to supplement and define this management system in detail. Attention must first be given to the following several matters:

1. The planning system: the general viewpoint is the necessity of implementing the principle of democratic centralism well and establishing a good relationship between the sector and the territory.

As regards the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary to clearly define which legal norms the upper level must assign to the districts and define the supplies, goods and budget finances needed to insure that these legal obligations are met. Only those norms that reflect the main production guidelines of the district need be assigned.

On the basis of the potentials that the district has in its labor, arable land, trade sector and material-technical bases, the district level must guide installations in formulating production plans based on the four sources from which balances can be established as set forth in the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum (locally, through economic ties, through exports and supplies sent from the upper level). The plan of the district represents the combination and balancing of plans from the basic level upward.

With respect to the relationship between the sector and the territory, it is necessary to clearly define the specifics involved in the coordination of planning between the economic-technical sectors of the province and the district. The production and business units of the central and provincial levels that are located within the district must coordinate their planning with the district.

2. As regards materials, the budget, the supply of goods, distribution-circulation and so forth, clear responsibilities must be assigned to the district so that it can take the initiative in arranging its plan and managing production.

The materials, budget and supply of goods provided by the upper level to the district to meet legal plan norms must be managed and utilized in a proper and effective manner. In addition, the districts should be encouraged to increase their supply of materials, increase their budgets and increase their supply of goods on their own. The districts should be given the right to take the initiative in using these sources of materials in the development of the district economy. On the other hand, the districts should have the right to trade goods outside the scope of the legal plan of the state once they have fulfilled their obligation to deliver products to the upper level.

3. It is also necessary to give the districts the responsibility of managing a number of economic units, such as the stations and farms, stores and

corporations of the sectors on the provincial level, because these units also participate in the district economy.

Before assigning management responsibilities, the concerned sectors must adjust their business and support guidelines, production organization and material-technical bases, improve their management and reorganize their force of cadres so that these bases operate well when put under cost accounting and difficulties are not posed to the district. Economic-technical centers must soon be established in the various production areas within the districts in which stations, farms, tractor units, pump stations, supply stations and so forth already exist. These economic-technical organizations of the district must be closely linked to cooperatives and linked, in terms of both their responsibilities and rights, to the final product of cooperatives.

In conjunction with establishing the new management system for the district level, there is a need to improve the way that production is guided within the district. The district's production must be guided not merely by means of inspections, supervision, appeals and mobilizations, rather, we must know how to make use of planning, to use economic tools (money, goods and materials) and use the various economic units to guide production and organize good coordination and good ties among these factors to guide and stimulate production. In its guidance of production, the district must know how to promptly resolve the difficulties and problems that installations are encountering in their production. It must bring together the strengths of the entire district to thoroughly carry out each policy and resolve each problem that is faced.

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## THE ASSIGNMENT OF MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE DISTRICT IN HAIPHONG

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 14-19

[Article by Nguyen Dan, chairman of the Haiphong Municipal People's Committee]

[Text] The assignment of management responsibilities to the district so that the district can become an economic and plan management level that has its own budget is an important part of building the districts and strengthening the district level. Cognizant of this, at the start of 1978, in keeping with Political Bureau Directive number 33/CT-TU and Council of Ministers' Resolution number 33/CP, we conducted a pilot project in the assignment of management responsibilities to the districts in An Thuy District (now the two districts of Kien An and Do Son) and, in 1979, expanded this pilot project to all remaining districts.

Today, Haiphong has assigned to the districts comprehensive management responsibilities encompassing everything from the management of planning, plans, finances, the budget, cadres, labor and wages to all areas of production, distribution-circulation, the culture and living conditions.

Planning: on the basis of their own natural, economic and social conditions and the overall planning of the municipality, the districts have formulated their own planning and organized its implementation once approval was received from the municipality. The overall planning of the districts and the planning of a number of sectors within the districts were formulated and approved in 1978 and 1979. In view of the fact that this planning has been in effect for a number of years, the city is now guiding its districts in re-examining their planning in order to supplement and improve it to be consistent with the socio-economic guidelines and goals of the city between now and 1990, consistent with the economic potentials and strengths of each district.

Plans: the districts are now responsible for managing a comprehensive plan, one which encompasses all aspects of the economy, culture and society, from production, capital construction and communications-transportation to distribution-circulation and the organizing of material and cultural life within the scope of the district. Each year, the districts formulate a comprehensive plan. Once this plan has been approved by the municipal people's committee, the district people's committee assigns plans to the

various basic units, guides their implementation and determines whether or not to recognize these units as having completed their plans.

The management of production: the districts have been assigned the responsibility of managing all aspects of agricultural, forestry, marine product, salt, industrial and small industry-handicraft production, transportation, building and the production of building materials. Today, the districts are directly managing all aspects of the operations of all agricultural, fishing, salt production and small industry-handicraft cooperatives, all cooperatives in transportation, building and the production of building materials and all state-operated installations that lie entirely within the district and primarily support the district.

The management of distribution-circulation: the districts have been given the responsibility of managing everything involved in the supplying of materials, procurement and retail sales within the district, in the home trade sector, the foreign trade sector and the grain sector. Today, the districts are directly and fully managing the state-operated units that are tasked with carrying out distribution and circulation within the district, such as the supply agent corporations, the general commerce corporations (both purchases and sales) and the corporations and stations that procure marine products as well as the entire network of district and village marketing cooperatives. Kien An District has a public food and services corporation and Cat Hai District has a branch office for tourism. Although district grain corporations have been established and are in operation, they will temporarily remain directly subordinate to the Municipal Grain Service but the districts are participating in their management.

The management of material and cultural life: together with managing production and managing distribution-circulation to support material life, the districts have been given the responsibility of managing all of the work installations of the public health, education and cultural sectors, including middle schools, in order to support the material life of the people within the district and provide them with health care. The districts have also been assigned the responsibility of directly and fully managing the state-operated economic units of the cultural and public health sectors, such as the state-operated movie units, the people's bookstores and the pharmacies.

The management of cadres, labor and wages: the districts have been assigned the responsibility of managing and implementing each regulation and policy regarding the cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the district in exact accordance with the regulations and policies of the state and under the guidance of the municipality, which includes the assignment, utilization, transfer, recruitment, promotion and salary increases of these personnel. The districts are responsible for balancing their labor forces to meet the needs of the district and distributing the labor force within the district. The city only manages and decides regulations and policies that pertain to the standing committee of the district party committee, the standing committee of the district people's committee and those cadres who have a salary of 105 dong or more. The city manages the norms governing military recruiting, student recruiting and the recruiting of labor for work outside the district. It also transfers cadres and labor from other places to the district and manages the

administrative staff. As regards wages, the district is responsible for managing and using the wage funds of both the material and non-material production sectors once the plan has been approved by the city. The city only manages labor and wage ceilings per product unit and the volume of goods in which business is done.

Financial management: the districts have been given the responsibility of drafting the district budget in accordance with state regulations and managing that budget once it has been examined and approved by the city. The sources of revenue of the district budget and district budget expense accounts have been clearly defined. Each year, the districts present their budget to the district people's council for a decision; once the budget has been approved by the city people's committee, the district people's committee manages the implementation of the budget and the final budget statement. The districts directly guide the financial management of the basic units of the district, insure that expenditures are made to administrative and work units and insure that cost accounting is practiced at production and business units. At present, all production and business units of the districts have been set up as independent cost accounting units that have the status of an individual under the law, have their own separate account and are responsible to the state for all of their production and business operations.

In the 5 years since the assignment of management responsibilities to the districts, Haiphong has begun to achieve good results in many areas.

To begin with, the assignment of management responsibilities has made it possible for the districts to take the initiative in the management of production, especially agricultural production. The districts also managed agricultural production in the past but because they were not a management level they could not take the initiative in formulating a comprehensive production plan. They usually only accepted norms assigned by the city and broke them down into norms that were assigned to the various installations without having any basis or measures for insuring the implementation of plans. The districts could not directly guide the supply, tractor, farmland water conservancy and other units in order to promptly support production because these units were still managed by the city. Today, as a result of assigning comprehensive management responsibilities to them, the districts have taken full initiative in the formulation of plans and the management of production. The plan of the district is formulated on the basis of highly developing each potential that lies in the locality's arable land, labor and material bases in order to insure the completion of assigned tasks. The important norms and measures regarding the supply of materials, plowing and harrowing, irrigation, drainage and so forth are balanced within the plan. The districts inform their cooperatives in advance of anything that they are unable to provide so that the cooperatives can take the necessary action. In the process of guiding production, the district takes the initiative in meeting installation needs for supplies, capital and labor and directly guides the supply, tractor, farmland water conservancy and other units in providing timely, well coordinated support of agriculture. In particular, when an imbalance is detected in any area of production, the district provides whatever is necessary to remedy it immediately, especially in times of natural disasters or when an outbreak of pests occurs.



Clearly aware of the new responsibility that they assumed once they became a management level, the districts have gradually eliminated the thinking of relying upon the upper level, displayed a high spirit of initiative and creativity in the management of production, taken the initiative in resolving many economic and technical problems, stimulated the development of production and won continuous victories in six successive agricultural production seasons, producing larger outputs with each subsequent season and year. In 1982, Haiphong's agriculture recorded a major victory, exceeding the plan on the amount of area under cultivation by 5 percent. Rice yield for the year equalled 61.84 quintals per hectare, thus exceeding the plan by 11 percent and representing a 20 percent increase over 1981. Paddy output exceeded the plan by 21 percent and was 26 percent higher than in 1981. All six agricultural districts crossed the 5 tons per hectare "threshold" and four districts recorded yields in excess of 6 tons per hectare. In particular, during the 1983 5th month-spring season, a victory of unprecedented magnitude was recorded by exceeding the plan in terms of the amount of area under cultivation, yield and output. The average rice yield was 33.07 quintals per hectare, 6 percent more than planned and a 14.7 percent increase compared to the 1982 5th month-spring season. Some 45 of the 159 agricultural cooperatives within the city recorded rice yields of 40 quintals or more per hectare.

The assignment of management responsibilities has assisted the districts in becoming deeply involved in the management of distribution and circulation, thereby making positive contributions to supporting production and daily life. In the past, the entire distribution-circulation network within the districts was managed by the city and was influenced by the subsidization system of management, consequently, these organizations usually only received goods distributed by the upper level, selling whatever they received, and the procurement policy and methods of procurement did not provide incentive for production. The districts had virtually no responsibilities in this area. Following the assignment of management responsibilities, the distribution-circulation network within the district was reorganized. The districts began to directly manage these organizations in support of production and everyday life. In addition to receiving goods distributed by the upper level, the corporations of the district have made strenuous efforts to develop many sources of goods, thus enabling the district to supply a wider variety. The supply agent corporations have efficiently reorganized the shipping and receiving of supplies, especially agricultural supplies. Generally speaking, in order to promptly support production and avoid losses and waste, the districts receive and directly ship supplies to cooperatives in accordance with the plan without storing supplies in warehouses or storage yards. The district commerce corporations and marketing cooperatives annually obtain roughly 50 percent of the total volume of goods that they sell on the outside and over and above quotas.

The most important result of the distribution-circulation activities of the districts has been the positive contributions that have been made toward stimulating the development of production and making many more goods available, thus enabling the districts to perform their procurement tasks well, including the procurement of export goods, and deliver an increasingly large quantity of products to the state. In terms of grain alone, the city

mobilized 23,000 tons in 1980, 52,000 ton in 1981 and 85,000 tons in 1982; during the 1983 5th month-spring season, it mobilized 60,000 tons or 60 percent of its plan for the entire year.

As a result of becoming a management level, the districts have gradually begun to manage their budgets well. During a 4 year period, the districts implemented their budgets as follows: 1979: 16 million dong in revenue and 18.9 million dong in expenditures; 1980: 19.9 million dong in revenues and 22.2 million dong in expenditures; 1981: 45.8 million dong in revenues and 54.3 million dong in expenditures; and 1982, 143.5 million dong in revenues and 127.3 million dong in expenditures. The districts have made many efforts to increase their revenues, eliminate unreasonable expenditures and focus their expenditures on production and business.

District budget revenues have increased each year, with 1982 revenues being nearly nine times higher than in 1979. In 1979, revenues from the state-operated economy only accounted for 11 percent of total district budget revenues. In 1982, they rose to 18 percent, which indicates the increasing growth of the state-operated economy within the districts and the increasingly effective production and business operations of state-operated economic units. Revenues from other sources have also met and exceeded the plan each year. Budget expenditures have also increased each year, reaching a level seven times higher in 1982 than in 1979. At present, the majority of district budget expenditures are still allocated to the administrative and work sector but the percentage allocated for the development of production and business is constantly increasing. Expenditures on capital construction, which stood at only 170,000 dong in 1979, rose to 17.9 million dong in 1982. All construction projects of the districts have been quickly put into effective use. In 1979, the district budgets only provided installations with 188,000 dong in supplemental liquid capital allocations; by 1982, this figure had risen to 23 million dong, thus creating the conditions for installations to acquire adequate operating capital for expanding their production and business and completing their assigned task well. One matter deserving of attention is that the districts have attached importance to guiding and directing production and business installations in the successful implementation of cost accounting and in earning a business profit; the practice of compensating for losses has been virtually abolished and negative phenomena have been significantly thwarted.

Building the districts and strengthening the district level, in general, and assigning management responsibilities to the district, in particular, are still matters that are very new to us. Therefore, in the process of performing this work, it has been very difficult to avoid mistakes and shortcomings. However, by making strenuous efforts and being bold, by gaining experience while working, we have begun to achieve good results. The most obvious result has been the fundamental change in the district level from an administrative management level into a comprehensive management level that has its own budget.

Through the day to day work of guiding the assignment of management responsibilities to the districts, Haiphong has begun to gain a number of good experiences:

First, it is extremely important to have a deep understanding of the policy on assigning management responsibilities to the districts but it is necessary to display a high degree of determination in organizing the implementation of this policy if good results are to be achieved. The policy on building the districts and strengthening the district level, which includes the assignment of management responsibilities, has been clearly defined by the party and state in many specific directives, resolutions and decisions. However, this is a new and very complex issue, one that touches upon practically every economic installation, upon all sectors and levels and involves everything from organization of production and material-technical bases to the mode of management, the management apparatus and cadres. Therefore, all sectors and levels must be given a truly thorough understanding of the party's policy, considering this to be a task of a strategic nature, a job of central importance that we must try to perform very well in order to enable the districts to make strong and comprehensive progress. This is the key to gaining the participation of all sectors and levels in the assignment of management responsibilities to the district. However, because this is a new and difficult matter, some points regarding it are still unclear and the many complex relationships that are involved here cannot be established at the same time as management responsibilities are assigned to the districts; therefore, when organizing this effort, we must be very highly determined if we are to achieve true results.

The realities of the past several years have shown that those sectors that have had a truly thorough understanding of this matter and been highly determined have achieved success in assigning management responsibilities to the district. Conversely, some sectors that have lacked this understanding and not displayed high determination have given many reasons for postponing the assignment of management responsibilities, have done so slowly, have done so in a poorly coordinated manner or have not attached importance to guiding the activities of the districts once management responsibilities have been assigned to them. One sector, seeing that the management provided by the district was weak at first, expressed a lack of confidence in district management, did not want to be put under district management and returned to management by the city.

Secondly, the assignment of management responsibilities must be well coordinated; however, these responsibilities must be assigned in a gradual manner consistent with the level of management of the district. To make the district an economic management level, it must be assigned well coordinated management responsibilities in all areas. Only in this way can the district take the initiative in balancing all aspects of its plan and in organizing production and business. When making the district responsible for managing production, it is necessary to simultaneously make the district responsible for managing supplies, capital and labor so that it can take the initiative in formulating its production plan and managing production. When making the district responsible for managing the production sectors, it must also be given the responsibility for managing the distribution-circulation sector so that it can take the initiative in supplying materials, in procurement and retail sales, in broadening trade. The requirement in the assignment of management responsibilities is that these responsibilities be well coordinated; however, because the amount of work to be performed is very large

and because this work is difficult and the management qualifications of the district are still limited, not everything can be done at once because to do so would cause the district to encounter many unmanageable difficulties. Careful consideration and evaluation are needed to determine which responsibilities should be assigned first and which should be assigned later. If a district lacks the conditions needed to fulfill a certain management responsibility, these conditions must be created before this responsibility is assigned to it. Of course, we cannot be perfectionists and can assign management responsibilities while continuing to create the necessary conditions for the district.

In actuality, Haiphong assigned the districts the responsibility of managing agricultural production first and then the responsibility of managing the other production sectors. And, after making the districts responsible for managing production, we proceeded to assign them the responsibility for managing distribution and circulation. On the island district of Cat Hai, material bases and the support apparatus were not strong enough at first, consequently, management responsibilities could not be immediately assigned to the district. The city concentrated on building material bases and assigned additional cadres to the district, after which it gradually assigned management responsibilities to Cat Hai.

Facts have shown that the above mentioned process of assigning management responsibilities is suited to Haiphong. Facts have also shown that if the responsibilities that are assigned are not well coordinated, it is very difficult to achieve the desired effect. At first, the city put the districts in charge of managing the production of fish and salt but did not make them responsible for managing supplies, capital and procurements, consequently, the districts found it very difficult to manage their production and products. We then promptly made the necessary adjustments and the districts began to have a clear impact.

Thirdly, the state management function of the various sectors must be strengthened to insure centralization and uniformity throughout the city. After assigning management responsibilities to the districts, the city no longer directly guided the economic units within the district agro-industrial structure in the formulation of plans or in their production and business operations. However, the district economy is not a separate entity and the building of the district economy must be consistent with the planning of the city. The assignment of management responsibilities must insure centralization and uniformity throughout the city. Therefore, the state management function of the sectors must be strengthened to insure centralization and uniformity throughout the city in the areas of planning, plans, policies, regulations, laws and the organization of cadres. Giving light attention to this matter will lead to the city being separated from the districts and each district doing things in a different way, thus violating the planning of the city and not complying with policies and regulations.

Facts have shown that after management responsibilities have been assigned to the district, those sectors that provide stronger sector management and closely coordinate with the districts find that their work within the districts is being carried out well; conversely, those sectors that are lax,

even in only one area, find that the results achieved from assigning the districts the responsibility of managing the sector are clearly limited.

Fourthly, special importance must be attached to assigning additional cadres to the district. Generally speaking, in each field of work, cadres play the decisive role; however, when assigning management responsibilities to the districts assigning additional cadres, especially economic and technical cadres, to the district is an objective and pressing requirement because the corps of cadres that the district had prior to the time that it received management responsibilities was only familiar with administrative management and the promotion of movements, not with economic management. During the past several years, Haiphong has assigned to the districts more than 500 additional cadres of all types, including more than 300 cadres who have a college or middle school education. Many of the cadres who have been sent to the districts hold key positions within the district. The important requirement here is not to send a specific number of cadres, but to send to the districts cadres who can meet the requirements of the work there. When a district lacks the necessary number of a certain type of cadre, the required number of those cadres must be assigned to it. In addition, attention must be given to molding the thinking of cadres through education so that the new cadres arriving in the district and the district's veteran cadres understand one another, unite, supplement one another's strengths, correct one another's weaknesses and work together in a conscious manner to complete the task at hand. If this matter is not handled well, it will limit the impact of the work being performed, even pose many problems, difficulties and obstacles to it.

In keeping with the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum and Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 50, the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee has decided to continue to boldly assign management responsibilities to the district and make improvements to the way these responsibilities are assigned so that the district truly becomes a planning level that has its own budget, an economic-social management level that manages production, distribution and circulation with a view toward making full use of arable land and labor, expanding the trade sector, closely linking agriculture to industry, small industry and the handicraft trades and producing many products for society while becoming a strong and sturdy fortress resisting aggression. We will endeavor to bring the districts of the city to the point where they are basically balancing their plans for the development of production and the improvement of living conditions within the district by 1985 and will clearly define the percentage of products and goods that may remain in the district and the percentage that must be supplied to the city.

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## GENERAL PLANNING AND SECTOR PLANNING WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 20-25

[Article by Le Huy Thiet, secretary of the Tho Xuan District Party Committee]

[Text] In 1976, under the guidance and with the assistance of the Central Committee and Thanh Hoa Province, Tho Xuan District carried out general socio-economic planning and sector planning within the district. Since then, through the realities of the district's situation, this planning has been constantly supplemented and has played a good role in the reorganization of production within the district.

However, general planning and sector planning within the scope of the district are still new to us and require that the districts inform one another of the experiences they have gained in this area. Below, we would like to present some of the steps taken by Tho Xuan District in its planning and the experiences our district has gained in this regard.

### A. A Correct Understanding and Good Preparations

Under the guidance of the Party Central Committee and the provincial party committee, we gradually came to realize that in order to reorganize production within the scope of the district and advance to large-scale production, production must be carried out on the basis of planning and plans. General planning and the planning of each sector within the district became a pressing requirement, became a job of foremost importance in the effort to quickly sever ourselves from the style of production characterized by decentralization, fragmentation, inefficiency and the habit of doing as one sees fit.

General planning consists of defining the structure of production and the production guidelines of the district; delineating production areas and establishing their production guidelines; establishing the socio-economic targets of the district and its different areas; and defining the measures that must be taken and the material-technical bases that must be established to meet these targets. General planning is the foundation of sector planning; conversely, sector planning is the concretization of general planning.

Only through planning is it possible to take the initiative in reorganizing production within the district, possible to lay the groundwork for the redistribution of production forces, the reorganization of the trade sector, the reallocation of crops and livestock and the building of material-technical bases. General planning also lays the foundation for the formulation of good yearly plans, the establishment of a correct allocation of crops for each season in each area and the adoption of production and technical regulations that are suited to each area and each type of crop and species of livestock. General planning and the planning of each sector within the district cannot be carried out in a haphazard or subjective manner. To the contrary, they are work that requires detailed preparations, thorough investigations and research and correct calculations; moreover, this work must be the result of tapping the intelligence of the party organization and the people of the entire district. In the process of formulating and implementing planning, we became aware of the need to promptly and simultaneously correct conservative thinking and subjective, impetuous thinking. Conservative thinking fears changes, seeks to maintain the same old production methods and habits and rejects the idea of operating under a plan. Subjective, impetuous thinking seeks to establish targets and measures that are divorced from reality, that are not suited to the locality's circumstances or for which the locality lacks the necessary conditions.

Having come to this realization, our district, before embarking on planning, conducted a thorough and scientific investigation of the natural, economic and social characteristics of the district. Specifically, we investigated the soil, agricultural chemistry, soil fertility, the climate, the weather, irrigation and drainage capabilities, electric power sources, the communications network, the distribution of labor and the population, the capabilities of the trade sector, crops, livestock, etc. The investigation was conducted in a serious manner with the positive assistance of specialized cadres from the central and provincial levels. Investigation results were fully collated in reports, charts, graphs and so forth, thereby providing basic materials and data to assist the leaders of the district in acquiring a clearer understanding of each aspect of the situation within the locality.

One of the foremost requirements of the investigation was to determine the various potentials and capabilities of the district and each area within it. For example, through the investigation, we endeavored to determine how much arable land in the district and each of its area can potentially be used for the production of crops, for livestock and poultry production, for the planting and repair of forests, for industrial production and so forth. At the same time, we clearly analyzed existing capabilities and showed the degree to which they allow these potentials to be developed now, the degree to which these potentials can be developed in the future and the premises that must be established in order to make the highest possible use of these potentials.

## B. Formulating Planning and Guiding Its Implementation

On the basis of the results of the basic investigation, on the basis of the district's actual situation and under the light of the resolutions and directives of the Party Central Committee and the Thanh Hoa Provincial Party Committee concerning the building of the districts, our district gradually

adopted guidelines that provide for specialized production coordinated with a general business, defined the economic structure of the district as one encompassing agriculture, industry and forestry and, on this basis, formulated our general planning of socio-economic development.

In broad terms, this planning consists of the following:

--The production and business guidelines of the district.

--The stages of development and socio-economic goals of each period.

--The zoning of areas within the district and the production guidelines and socio-economic goals of each area.

--The guidelines for resolving specific problems with a view toward insuring that the socio-economic goals of the district and each area are met.

Planning also defines what must be done with regard to water conservancy, communications-transportation, electric power, the improvement of fields, the construction of other material-technical bases and investment capital.

On the basis of this general planning, the agricultural production sector, the industrial sector, the forestry sector, the distribution-circulation sector, the cultural sector, the social sector and so forth adopted their own planning, making it consistent with the general development of the entire district.

In order for the general planning of the district to become reality, become the target and the political task of the entire district, we assisted the cooperatives in their planning.

On the basis of the district's zoning and planning, we helped the cooperatives establish correct production guidelines, establish the allocation of crops and livestock of each cooperative and establish an increasingly efficient structure of production in order to lay the base for the assignment of contracts and gradually correct the mistakes and shortcomings in the use of product contracts. The cooperatives replanned and classified their fields, allocated their crops in specialized farming areas in order to achieve efficiency in production, establish certain crops as rotation or companion crops and selected for each class of soil those crops that yield the highest economic returns. Facts proved that only on the basis of establishing an efficient production structure could the cooperatives formulate a correct plan for achieving coordination among the various types of products, among the different jobs to be performed and among the different seasons and crops in their production regulations, thus avoiding the problem of doing things in a haphazard way and becoming able to execute two-way economic contracts with the state well. We also helped the cooperatives establish good economic-technical quotas and successfully initiate contracts, involving ourselves primarily in the improvement of three types of quotas and ceilings: output quotas, labor quotas and the ceilings on supply costs, the most important of which are output quotas. We also initiated cost accounting in order to determine profit and loss in the production and business operations of each unit. Practically



all cooperatives formulated production and business plans and managed their production and business in accordance with these plans.

Our district also helped the cooperatives establish balance and coordination among the primary technical measures and strengthened the material-technical bases of cooperatives. One major drawback of the plans of the agricultural cooperatives in previous years was that the balance among technical measures was usually rudimentary in nature and did not insure that plan norms on the amount of area under cultivation, yield and output would be met. With the assistance of the district and by means of capital acquired on their own and the contribution of manpower and money by their members, the cooperatives constructed and purchased the material bases needed to support production. We also helped the cooperatives organize and efficiently distribute their labor within the cooperative and production units with a view toward making greater use of the labor at cooperatives in the coordinated development of all three sectors: crop production, livestock production and the trade sector. The crop production units, livestock production units, specialized units (land clearing units, farmland water conservancy units and crop protection units) and the units of the trade sector (the 202 water conservancy units, the transportation units, the building materials production units) and so forth were reorganized.

In the nearly 7 years that we have spent guiding the implementation of our general socio-economic planning, our district has performed the following several jobs:

1. We have reorganized the use of arable land and labor in order to expand production and business within the scope of the district. After conducting our basic investigation, we redrew the boundaries and changed the size of the district and its villages, redistributing 850 hectares of land among cooperatives and thus eliminating the problem of persons farming and living on the land of other cooperatives. At the same time, we moved more than 3,000 persons (including about 800 laborers) from densely populated villages and villages along the Chu River into the foothills to establish new villages and reduced the number of population centers within the district from 176 to 115, thus freeing 121 additional hectares of land for use in production. By accelerating the clearing of land and the restoration of fields, the amount of agricultural land within the district was increased from 14,125 to 16,271 hectares. To prepare a labor force for the sugarcane growing areas, the district established new population centers in these areas (Xuan Phu, Phuc Hung, Thanh Son and so forth).

Having redefined the boundaries, size, production guidelines and production tasks of the agricultural cooperatives, our district gradually eliminated the fragmentation within fields and established interconnected areas and plots that facilitate plowing and transplanting. Having done this, we reorganized the cultivation of main crops along the lines of intensive cultivation, specialized farming and centralization within large areas in a manner consistent with land conditions, water conservancy and crop production seasons. At the same time, we also managed to create favorable conditions for equipping with material-technical bases and applying technological advances in production. Under the guidelines of raising sugarcane in the hills, raising

corn in the silt field area, raising sweet potatoes on one rice crop and one subsidiary food crop fields and expanding main crop winter production on two rice crop fields by means of companion cropping, overlapping catch crops, rotation cultivation, multicropping and so forth, Tho Xuan quickly increased the amount of area under cultivation from 21,800 hectares in 1975 to 25,045 hectares in 1976, 30,399 hectares in 1980, 30,789 hectares in 1981 and 31,070 hectares in 1982. The coefficient of land use increased from 1.75 in 1976 to 2.35 in 1982. The fall-winter season became a main production season, with production increasing from roughly 1,000 hectares in 1975 to nearly 6,000 hectares in 1981. The revolutionary change in the structure of seasons and crops from two crops per year to four crops per year opened the way for Tho Xuan to firmly resolve the grain problem and export more agricultural products. Total grain output rose from 39,975 tons in 1975 to 45,763 tons in 1976 and 69,260 tons in 1981; in 1982, we recorded our highest grain output ever, 74,595 tons. In the output of grain, rice output has increased from 39,613 tons in 1976 to 58,685 tons in 1982.

In livestock production, importance has been attached to developing all three sectors, the state-operated sector, the collective sector and the cooperative member household sector, in order to gradually achieve balance between crop and livestock production. In hog production, we have established good operations in the two elements of decisive significance: breeding stock and feed. The state-operated hog farm of the district and the two farms of cooperatives (which were partially invested in by the district) supply young stock to the cooperatives and cooperative member households within the district. The cooperatives have been given permission to set aside 10 to 15 percent of their farmland or 12 to 13 percent of their output for the collective hog farm of the cooperative and to encourage cooperative member families to raise hogs. Hog feed is processed at five grinding mills, which are closely linked to the five economic-technical centers, or processed at the farms of cooperatives.

Through the measures mentioned above, the structure of the hog herd has changed. The size of the herd increased from 45,000 hogs in 1976 to 55,763 in 1982. The number of crossbred commercial hogs increased from 3,447 in 1975 to 17,477 in 1980 and 32,575 in 1981. In 1982, the total hog herd numbered 55,700 hogs, 74.5 percent of which were crossbred hogs. The output of pork, live weight, has increased at the annual average rate of 12.5 percent or by 26 percent compared to the average during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980.

As regards buffalo and cattle, in addition to promoting livestock production in the state-operated and collective sectors, our district has also adopted the policy of developing buffalo and cattle production at each cooperative member household, especially in those areas that have good grasslands. At present, the district has nearly 30,000 buffalo and head of cattle and has, as a result, virtually resolved the draft power problem.

As regards the reorganizing of labor, our district redeployed and reorganized labor along specialized lines consistent with the allocation of main crops and species of livestock. Labor has been organized on the basis of intensive cultivation and specialized farming and divided into three sectors: crop production, livestock production and the trade sector. Specialized units

(units specializing in seed production, plowing and harrowing, the preparation of fields, farmland water conservancy, crop protection and so forth) have been established. As a result of these guidelines, the decentralization and fragmentation of the labor force that existed previously have gradually been corrected and labor has become collective labor in which there is a division of labor, cooperation and coordination based on the characteristics and level of development of each cooperative. The size of the labor force engaged in crop production has gradually been reduced and the amount of labor engaged in livestock production, capital construction and the other sectors and trades has been increased. The district is able to provide to the state from 3,200 to 5,400 young, able-bodied laborers each year.

## 2. Specialized farming areas have gradually been established.

On the basis of the natural geographical characteristics of the district and the capabilities of its people, we have gradually established specialized farming areas. Those cooperatives that share similar natural conditions and similar production guidelines and tasks have been linked together to form large, individual areas. To date, Tho Xuan has established three different production areas:

Area one consists of the 16 villages in the lowlands and measures 7,420 hectares, 4,830 hectares of which are farmland supported by self-regulating irrigation and drainage through the Bai Thuong farmland water conservancy project. This is the key, intensive rice cultivation area of the district and accounts for nearly 50 percent of our total grain and food output.

Area two consists of the nine villages in the lowland area on the left bank of the Chu River and measures 4,891 hectares, 3,359 hectares of which are farmland drained by the network of electric and diesel pump stations. The main task of this area is the intensive cultivation of rice, subsidiary food crops or industrial crops.

Area three consists of the remaining villages and specializes in the cultivation of sugarcane and grain, the production of buffalo and cattle for breeding stock and draft power, etc.

The zoning of areas mentioned above has helped each area realize and develop its strengths. For example, area one, which has been working to produce a large output of products, annually contributes to the state some 4,900 tons of grain, twice as much as the grain contributed by area two and area three combined. Conversely, area three produces 1.6 times as many buffalo and cattle as area one and area two combined. There is mutual support among these areas. For example, area three supplies buffalo and cattle to area one and area one supplies hog breeding stock to area two and area three. In this way, the different areas create the conditions for one another's development.

The zoning described above also creates favorable conditions for investments by the economic-technical sectors. For example, the development of the sugarcane area was a necessary material prerequisite to building the Lam Son Sugar Mill and establishing ties between agriculture and industry within the scope of the district.

On the basis of roughly similar production conditions and production guidelines and establishing ties among installations through commonly used material bases (pump stations, irrigation and drainage networks, the power network, the communications network and so forth) as well as on the basis of geographical and social characteristics, our district established five economic, technical and standard of living centers. Within each center are such material bases as a tractor unit, a rice seed production facility, a hog breeding farm, a livestock feed processing station, installations that provide services in support of production (the supply station, the agricultural product procurement station and so forth) and facilities supporting the material and cultural lives of the people (the general medical clinic, the post-telegraph station, the commerce store, the middle level general school and so forth), the purpose of which is to have the quickest possible impact upon the production and lives of the people.

3. We have constructed material-technical bases supporting agricultural production.

Our district's method of operation is to build those projects for which the necessary conditions exist first, build those projects for which the necessary conditions do not yet exist later and do whatever we ourselves can do without waiting for others or seeking perfection but always observing the principle of completing all projects that are started and rapidly putting them into use. We began by concentrating our efforts on water conservancy projects to alleviate waterlogging, combat drought and provide effective irrigation to enable the intensive cultivation of rice; on seed selection and pest control projects, such as seed stations, crop protection stations and veterinary stations; on tractor stations, cooperatives producing farm implements and small machine shops, on a power network supporting water conservancy, etc.

To date, through the self-reliance of the district's people, under the guideline "the state and the people working together" and despite the fact that the capital invested by the state only equals 30 percent of the amount planned, we have established within our district a nearly self-contained power network (in which 20 of the 38 villages have power lines) consisting of 56 kilometers of high voltage lines, 23 kilometers of low voltage lines, 18 electric pump stations, 75 kilometers of canals and ditches and a number of reservoirs capable of providing irrigation or drainage at a rate of 42,400 cubic meters per hour, thus bringing the total amount of land irrigated from 5,000 hectares in 1976 to 8,000 hectares in 1982. In the space of only 3 years (1979-1982), the district mobilized more than 40 million dong for investment in capital construction (twice the total amount invested in capital construction in the 5 years from 1976 to 1980) and, as a result, completed, expanded or constructed eight electric pump and diesel pump stations and 12 kilometers of high voltage power lines. Together with building water conservancy projects, a road system consisting of more than 80 kilometers of 10 main roads and 1,035 kilometers of rural roads with eight bridges with a capacity in excess of 10 tons was established, thereby helping to support the production and travel needs of the people.

4. We have coordinated the reorganization of agricultural production with the development of industry.

Realizing that this organic coordination is an essential component of the district agro-industrial economy and realizing that, within this coordination, it is first necessary to produce tools for agricultural production, for the processing of agricultural products and the development of the trade sector, our district attached importance to developing the production of manually operated machines, machine repair services, the production of tools and building materials, the processing of agricultural and forestry products, etc. The small industry and handicraft trade sector has been developed under three forms of organization, professional, semi-professional and private, the main ones being professional and semi-professional. The district has established many professional handicraft machine cooperatives; 36 forges producing about 5,000 to 7,000 plows and harrows and 45,000 to 50,000 hand tools per year; one sugar and wine processing plant producing 500 tons of sugar and 1 million liters of wine per year; and one state-operated brick and tile installation and hundreds of manually operated lime kilns and manually operated brick and tile kilns producing more than 30 million bricks and tiles per year.

The introduction of additional mechanized equipment in fields and the division of labor based on specialization in agricultural production created the conditions for the development of the sectors and trades. In particular, since the implementation of the new contract system in accordance with Party Secretariat Directive Number 100, we have been able to expand the labor force of the trade sector even more. The handicraft trades, especially the furniture weaving trade, have developed at many places within the district.

As a result, in our district, the total output value of industrial, small industry and handicraft products has constantly risen: from 12 million dong in 1975 to 15.2 million dong in 1981 and 16.5 million dong in 1982. Having overcome difficulties and shortages, the state-operated enterprises and the production installations of collectives have been maintained. Several new production sectors have been opened, such as the manufacture of production tools and civilian goods from scrap iron (in Tho Dien), pottery (in Xuan Thien) etc.

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CSO: 4210/18

## TAM DIEP ENDEAVORS TO BUILD A STRONG AND SOLID DISTRICT PARTY ORGANIZATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 26-30 and 36

[Article by Vu Van Liem, secretary of the Tam Diep District Party Committee]

[Text] Tam Diep is a district in southwestern Ha Nam Ninh Province that measures 20,000 hectares, 12,000 hectares of which are farmland. In Tam Diep, there are two distinct economic areas: the 10th month subsidiary food crop area and the area of low fields in between the hills and mountains. Generally speaking, the soil is depleted, highly acidic and lacking in nutrients.

The district's population, which numbers more than 120,000, includes more than 50,000 laborers, about 46,000 of whom are agricultural laborers and 4,000 of whom work in industry and the handicraft trades.

The Tam Diep District party organization has 86 basic organizations of the party with 5,700 members. The vast majority of party members have been forged, have matured, possess a firm stand and firm viewpoints, possess fine revolutionary qualities and always try to move forward and overcome their difficulties in order to complete their tasks.

However, before we launched the campaign to build a strong and solid district party organization, as many as 40 percent of the basic organizations of the party were weak and deficient. Some basic organizations had been weak and deficient for 7 or 8 years in a row, especially in the area of low fields, and 28 percent of party members were unqualified to be party members.

This situation faced the Tam Diep District Party Committee with many problems that had to be resolved in order to correct its weaknesses and deficiencies and gradually become a strong and solid district party organization.

After debating, analyzing and evaluating the situation and classifying the basic organizations, our district party committee adopted the following policy:

--As a newly merged party organization, Tam Diep must display an even higher spirit of unity, consensus and self-reliance and must focus the efforts of the district on guiding economic, cultural and social development, especially agricultural development, in order to resolve the grain and food problem, meet

grain needs within the district, accumulate capital and contribute more and more to the state.

--It is necessary to accelerate the strengthening of the basic organizations of the party, the government, the sector committees of the district and the mass organizations and lead these organizations into activities that are conducted on a regular basis and are of high quality. In particular, more assistance must be provided to help weak and deficient basic organizations make progress and insure uniform development by the party organizations of the entire district.

In keeping with this policy, we have performed the following several jobs:

1. Led the performance of the political task:

To resolve the grain and food problem within the district, our district party committee on the basis of the district's arable land, labor and weather, appropriately rearranged production guidelines and adjusted the size of cooperatives; at the same time, it changed the allocation of crops, introducing a number of high yield crops of high economic value.

Our original 25 village-size cooperatives were divided into 42 cooperatives and, when Secretariat Directive 100 on product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers was issued, we urgently guided the cooperatives in implementing the product contract system in accordance with Directive 100.

As regards the two production areas of the district, our district party committee brought bold thinking to bear and began guiding their development in two different directions based on rotation cultivation formulas and a number of new crops of economic value.

In the 10th month subsidiary food crop area, we have promoted intensive cultivation and multicropping and expanded the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops. Each year, we have gradually expanded the cultivation of spring peanuts and planted additional soybeans, which can be raised in four crops per year, produce high yields, are valuable as a trade commodity and have the effect of increasing the fertility of the soil. Following a successful pilot project, we applied a new rotation cultivation formula, a formula which, five seasons after it was implemented, can be seen to have yielded good results. It is:

--On land devoted to seedling production, 5th month-spring seedlings + spring soybeans + 10th month seedlings.

--On land used to raise one rice crop and one subsidiary food crops: summer soybeans + main 10th month rice + spring soybeans.

--On land used to raise two rice crops: spring rice + summer soybeans + main 10th month rice.

Under this formula, we have produced more than 500 additional tons of soybeans each year, increased the sources of food products, improved the standard of living and developed livestock production.

In the lowlying area, the 10th month rice yields of previous years were usually unstable and floods struck just as the rice was about to be harvested. To resolve the grain problem in this area, help to meet the need for grain within the district and lay the basis for resolving weaknesses and deficiencies, our district party committee introduced summer-fall rice on some of the land used to raise 10th month rice and made 5th month-spring rice the main rice crop, thereby creating every condition needed for the 5th month-spring season to be a major success. To date, the two summer-fall crops that have been raised in a number of villages have yielded good results. This is the premise for achieving higher results in subsequent seasons.

In industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, in order to develop our existing potentials and produce new products serving the lives of the people, we decided to build three enterprises: a paper enterprise, a pottery enterprise and a fish sauce enterprise.

All three of these installations use local raw materials and surplus labor within agriculture and at the handicraft cooperatives. Several new products, such as water jars, small jars and rice jars, have been put into production to promptly serve the needs of the people and have been welcomed by them very much.

Generally speaking, in the development of agriculture, industry and the handicraft trades during the past several years, although we have failed to meet requirements, it is clear that the results that have been achieved are exciting. During the 3 years from 1980 to 1982, total grain output increased at an average annual rate in excess of 10 percent. Total grain output was 27,000 tons in 1980, 47,000 tons in 1981 and 52,000 tons in 1982. Rice yield increased from 27.5 quintals per hectare in 1980 to 41 quintals per hectare in 1981 and 50.4 quintals per hectare in 1982. The 5th month-spring rice yield in 1983 was 29.4 quintals per hectare, an increase of 3 quintals per hectare over the 1982 5th month-spring rice yield.

Livestock production has developed rather well. The hog herd increased from 31,000 hogs in 1981 to 36,000 in 1982. The average market weight of hogs has increased by 16 kilograms per hog compared to 1980. The quantity of pork delivered to the state rose from 460 tons in 1981 to 612 tons in 1982.

The total output value of industry and the handicraft trades was twice as high in 1982 as it was in 1980.

In 1980, Tam Diep delivered 3,000 tons of paddy to the state in fulfillment of its obligations; it delivered 8,000 tons in 1981 and 9,200 tons in 1982. It contributed to the state 493 tons of peanuts in 1980, 565 tons in 1981, 607 tons in 1982 and 850 tons in 1983.

The value of export goods increased from 9.5 million dong in 1980 to 11.5 million dong in 1982, nearly 100 dong worth per capita per year.



Due to the results achieved in the development of production, the standard of living of the people has been improved in many ways. Order and security have been firmly maintained. Military recruiting has always met and exceeded the plan.

2. Strengthened installations and done a good job of building the corps of cadres.

The process of endeavoring to build a strong and solid district party organization is a process that is closely associated with building and strengthening installations. Our district party committee maintains that there must be many strong and solid basic organizations of the party in order for the district party organization to become a strong and solid organization. There cannot be a strong and solid district party organization within which many basic organizations are weak and deficient. Therefore, in the process of working to build a strong and solid district party organization, we have attached very much importance to strengthening the basic organizations of the party, especially weak and deficient ones.

We maintain that cadres are the key to strengthening the basic organizations of the party and correcting weaknesses and deficiencies. Actual experience has shown that wherever the corps of cadres possesses good qualities and is competent, the movement is a success. Conversely, at those places where the corps of cadres is deficient, the movement is a poor movement. As a result, during the past several years, our district party committee has concentrated on providing guidance and taking many different measures to gradually improve the qualifications of cadres, especially the corps of key cadres.

At the agricultural production installations, we have streamlined the corps of key cadres to three positions: the secretaries of the village party committees, the chairmen of the village people's committees and the directors of cooperatives. At agencies and enterprises, it has been streamlined to two positions: unit secretaries and unit heads. We have been determined to replace key cadres who are incompetent, who lack the necessary qualities or are in poor health. During the 3 years from 1980 to 1983, in the process of implementing the Secretariat's directive on the issuance of party membership cards and the holding of party organization congresses on the various levels, Tam Diep replaced and reassigned 34 percent of its party committee members, including 56 percent of party committee secretaries, 60 percent of the chairmen of the people's committees and 51 percent of cooperative directors. Some installations boldly replaced the persons in all three positions at the same time.

The Yen Phong Village party organization is a large organization that was once weak and deficient because its key cadres were incompetent and lacking the necessary good qualities and because the organization constantly suffered a lack of internal unity. After correctly determining the causes of this situation, the district party committee guided the party organization in conducting a review and simultaneously replaced the secretary, the chairman and the director. This was done at the same time that the cooperative was reorganized into three smaller cooperatives. As a result, Yen Phong underwent positive change and became a strong and solid party organization in 1981 and 1982.

We have sent additional cadres from the district to assist those installations at which the corps of cadres was both weak and lacking the necessary number of cadres. During the 3 years from 1980 to 1982, the district party committee sent 80 persons who were district party committee members or heads and assistant heads of district committees and sectors and a number of cadres who possess good qualities, leadership ability and specialized technical skills to fill key positions in villages, cooperatives and enterprises.

Besides those cadres who currently hold positions, we have attached importance to building the corps of cadres who will succeed them. There are two or three cadres ready to fill each key position, including those on the district party committee and in the various committees and sectors. This cadre planning has been democratically discussed and formulated from the basic level upward. To be approved, decisions to transfer cadres or send cadres for training must comply with our planning. In those cases that lie outside our planning, the basic party committee must give a clear explanation for its decision to the district party committee before receiving its approval.

Together with strengthening the corps of cadres, we have given attention to improving the overall qualifications of cadres through training. In addition to studying and researching the directives and resolutions of the upper levels, we routinely organize exchanges of experience with advanced units in and outside the province and discuss our experiences after each phase of activity to implement resolutions of the district party committee. In accordance with our planning, we have steadfastly maintained the practice of sending one key cadre after another for formal training. By means of local funding and on the basis of the requirements of installations, we have been sending those cadres who will succeed the cadres currently holding positions to schools for academic training so that they can gain admission to agricultural or economic management colleges and work at cooperatives upon the completion of their studies. In order to give cadres and party members a deeper understanding of Marxism-Leninism, the district party committee has assigned the district party school and installations the task of holding on-the-job classes based on the elementary training program. To date, 24 percent of cadres and party members have completed the elementary training program in political theory and many units have met the universal standards that apply in this area of study.

To improve the quality of party members, our district party committee has taken determined and urgent steps to expel unqualified members from the party. During the drive to implement the directive on the issuance of party membership cards alone, we took disciplinary action in 607 cases involving 9.5 percent of the total number of party members; in these cases, we removed from party rolls and expelled from the party 371 persons, 5.9 percent of party members. Some units took disciplinary action against as many as 12 percent of their members. Besides expelling unqualified members from the party, we have attached full importance to developing the party. During the 3 years from 1980 to 1982, we accepted 509 persons into the party, or the equivalent of 8.2 percent of the total number of party members.

Through the efforts described above, we have streamlined and strengthened the basic organizations of the party and many basic organizations that were once weak and deficient have become good or strong and solid organizations.

3. We have gradually improved the quality of the guidance provided by the district level:

In view of the district's characteristics, the Tam Diep District Party Committee has attached special importance to building and strengthening internal unity in terms of both will and action.

On the one hand, the district party committee, on the basis of the guidance provided by the Central Committee and the provincial party committee, has drafted and routinely amended regulations governing the work of the party committee echelon, the government, the various committees and sectors and the mass organizations. Because these regulations are reasonable and strict, they have caused the party committee echelons, committees, sectors and installations to display unanimity, initiative and responsibility. As a result, they have corrected the problems of working at cross purposes, being passive and relying upon others or encroaching upon the function and task of other organizations and persons.

On the other hand, we have tried to improve the quality of the decisions we make and insure that policies and measures correctly reflect the lines and policies of the party, are consistent with the realities of the locality and yield practical results. Above everything else, the district party committee has attached importance to organizing the study and gaining a deep understanding of the lines and policies of the party and state while thoroughly discussing and achieving a high degree of consensus concerning the locality's situation. It regularly sends the members of the party committees from the district to the basic levels on visits to other places or has them study the experiences of other districts in and outside the province through the press or radio broadcasts. For example, party committee members have gone to Dao Ly Village to study the planting of potatoes on wet soil; to Chau Giang Village in Duy Tien District to study their experiences in the cultivation of jute; to Tan Yen District in Ha Bac Province to study the planting of soybeans and improvement of the soil; to Bach Cu Village in Hoa Lu to study sericulture; to Hoang Long Village to study tobacco cultivation and so forth. Whenever it proposes a specific policy, the district party committee requests that party committee members fully assess the actual situation, learn about the pertinent experiences that have been gained, solicit the opinions of the organizations of the party and the masses at installations and report them to the concerned sectors that are directly involved in making the necessary preparations. This practice raises the responsibility and taps the intelligence of the collective while creating a consensus that extends from the party committee echelon to the various sectors and installations. Once the correct policy has been adopted, the committees and sectors of the district and the basic organizations of the party conduct propaganda and educational activities regarding it and the district party committee focuses its efforts on providing the necessary guidance in order to achieve the objectives that have been established. Immediately after a decision is issued by the district party committee, the district people's committee formulates a

specific plan for implementing it. The district party committee then conducts inspections at the basic party organizations to determine how well its decision is being implemented, especially at places that are encountering difficulties; as a result, shortcomings in the implementation of the decision are promptly detected and corrected.

This kind of concerted, thorough guidance in which we maintain close contact with the basic level has had the effects of helping the district party committee to make correct decisions, insuring that these decisions are successfully implemented and gradually advancing the district's movement.

Tam Diep District was awarded the title "Strong and Solid District Party Organization" by the Party Central Committee in 1980-81 and was awarded the Labor Order, Third Class by the Council of State. These are not only honors awarded by the party and state to the party organization and people of Tam Diep District, they also represent recognition by the party and state of the direct guidance provided by the provincial party committee, the provincial people's committee and the committees and sectors of the province as well as the assistance provided by the other districts within the province, which have created favorable conditions for the party organization and people of Tam Diep to gradually overcome their difficulties and advance the movement.

However, in the course of endeavoring to build a strong and solid party organization, Tam Diep District is still experiencing certain weaknesses that must be corrected:

1. In agricultural production, crop yields are not high, especially the yield of rice. The highest rice yield recorded in any one year was only slightly more than 5 tons per hectare. There is still a very wide gap between the yields of the two different production areas: some places record yields in excess of 6 tons while others are only averaging 2 tons per hectare. Subsidiary food crop production has recently declined, consequently, total grain output has risen slowly. The development of industry, the handicraft trades and agriculture is not balanced and industrial output value only equals 15 percent of agricultural output value.

2. In the building of the party the progress made by a few weak and deficient party organizations that were only strengthened in the process of implementing the directive on the issuance of party membership cards has not been steady, especially the progress of some party organizations in the low area.

3. Cadre planning from the basic to the district level and the elementary and advanced training of cadres on the basis of planning have not met requirements. A few places have not promptly trained cadres to take the place of those who now hold positions, consequently, they have no one to take the place of those key cadres who must retire.

In the years ahead, we will make an effort to develop upon the victories that have been won, take determined steps to correct weaknesses and deficiencies and endeavor to firmly maintain and further improve the quality of a strong and solid district party organization.

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## SOME URGENT MATTERS IN OUR WORK PERTAINING TO NATIONALITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 31-36

[Article by Hoang Truong Minh]

[Text] Vietnam, a unified nation-state that consists of many different ethnic components, was formed early in history. It is a community of persons who have become closely united in the process of struggling to conquer nature and fight foreign aggressors. Building the country in conjunction with defending it, this is the law that has governed the formation and development of the Vietnamese nation. National unity has been the red thread running throughout the history of our nation. It has created the spiritual values of each Vietnamese and become an extremely precious tradition, an invincible strength of the Vietnamese national community. Since the day that it was established, our party has adopted lines, positions and policies designed to correctly resolve the nationalities issue in our country. Our party, the party founded by President Ho Chi Minh, confirmed as soon as it was born that a united country of Vietnam, a united nation of Vietnam that consists of many different nationalities is an objective reality, a reality that encompasses both sides of the relationship among the nationalities. One side is represented by richness, diversity, a variety of color, a process of mutual assistance, harmony and continuous cohesion in the development and progress of the country and each nationality. On the other hand, within this unity, there is still a gap, still a lack of uniformity in economic and cultural development, are still varying degrees of cultural differences, differences in customs, habits, languages and so forth. In view of these basic characteristics, the viewpoint brought to our work regarding the various nationalities must be a comprehensive, historical and specific one. Only seeing the unity and harmony, not the richness, diversity and differences within the national community, or only seeing the difficulties and complex problems, not that "ours is a country of many nationalities, this is a good point" (as President Ho taught), are erroneous, onesided points of view and ways of thinking that lead to subjective and impetuous policies, measures and actions and are detrimental to the effort to uphold the right of collective ownership of the people of the various nationalities in the work of building and defending the socialist fatherland. As a result of the adoption of correct viewpoints, lines and policies, the strength of our broad national unity was brought to the most brilliant pinnacles in the history of the nation in the 1945 August

Revolution, in the resistance against France, the resistance against the United States and then in the fight against the Chinese expansionist army, thereby bringing our nation of Vietnam from the position of a slave nation whose name was not even recorded on the map of the world to the position of a nation that stands among the vanguard nations of the world.

Following the reunification of the country, our party pointed out: "Correctly resolving the nationalities issue is one of the tasks of a strategic nature of the Vietnamese revolution..."(1) In the present stage of the revolution, the resolution of the 5th Party Congress has defined the fundamental principles that insure the successful performance of our work regarding the nationalities as: "The party must lead the successful implementation of the resolution of the 4th Congress concerning the nationalities policy and must, at the same time, continue to conduct research for the purpose of promptly resolving new problems that arise in the nationalities work of the party. We must further strengthen the solidarity of the nationalities on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual assistance and the exercise of collective ownership. We must intensify our efforts in the areas of propaganda and education so that the minorities as well as the compatriots of the entire country have a deep understanding of the new situation and tasks, of the party's nationalities policy, display higher vigilance, promptly thwart each attempt at divisiveness and sabotage by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, by the imperialists and the other reactionaries, eliminate remaining ethnic prejudices and work together to build and defend the fatherland."(2)

In our country today, the nation and socialism are one, the strength of the solidarity of the different nationalities and the right of collective ownership of the working people are one.

In the present stage, national solidarity has assumed a new quality. Our work regarding the nationalities has the purposes of further strengthening national solidarity and upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people of the various nationalities in order to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, successfully build the new system, the new economy and the new culture and successfully mold the new, socialist man while strengthening our nation-state consciousness, displaying high vigilance and crushing each scheme and act of aggression of the enemy.

National solidarity must be based on ethnic equality. "The nationalities policy of the party represents the establishment of absolute equality in every area among the various nationalities and creates the conditions needed to abolish at their origins the economic and cultural differences among the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority."(3) Therefore, over the years, our party and state have adopted specific resolutions and policies for investing in economic and cultural development in the ethnic minority areas and promptly meeting the pressing needs in the production and daily lives of the ethnic minorities, especially in the highland and border regions, with a view toward "partially correcting the differences in the level of economic and cultural development among the various nationalities, differences left to us by history."(4) We must insure that the above mentioned resolutions of the party become policies of the state, become specific resolutions of the various

levels and sectors. These resolutions must be codified in the Constitution and the laws and other legal documents of the state.

The purpose of abolishing the differences in the level of development is to eventually achieve equality among the nationalities. We must first gradually abolish the differences in economic development. Due to practices left behind by history, nomadism, slash and burn cultivation and the destruction of forests still exist in some ethnic minority areas; these habits have caused the lives of the minorities to be unstable and have impeded the overall development of the ethnic minority areas. Due to geographical and social characteristics, the largest number of the minorities in our country live in the remote mountains where travel is difficult, the population is sparse and small industry, the handicraft trades and industry have not been developed. This situation has caused a lack of uniformity in the development of the minority areas. It is necessary to gradually correct this situation under the common planning and plans for economic and social development throughout the country. At the same time, specific policies and measures must be adopted for making appropriate investments in the minority areas, especially those along the northwest border and in the Central Highlands. Here, the need we face is that of comprehensively researching and thoroughly defining socio-economic relations and political, economic and national defense relationships. Investing in the mountain provinces, where the majority of the minorities reside, might not yield immediate economic returns; however, from the perspective of political and military significance and future returns, such investments must be given very much attention.

The differences in the level of cultural development are an inevitable reflection of the differences in economic development. The lives of the minorities are still marked by very many backward and oppressive customs and habits. Many segments of the minority population do not know how to read or only possess minimum reading skills, not sufficient skills to comprehend and convey modern scientific and technical information. The culture of the ethnic minorities is very rich but the majority of it is still at the level of oral culture. As a result, more than a small amount of the precious cultural heritage that has been created in the course of development has disappeared. The invasions and sabotage carried out by enemies from many different directions, over many different centuries and in all fields of ideology, politics, science, literature, art and so forth and their malicious and cruel policies (assimilation, divide and rule, demagoguery and so forth) restricted the development of our entire nation, with the most severe consequences being borne by the minorities. This situation caused the differences among the nationalities and demographic regions of the country to increase.

Due to the uneven development mentioned above, the principle of mutual assistance must be observed if we are to achieve equality among the nationalities. Mutual assistance means making every effort to develop the spirit of self-reliance of the various nationalities and providing appropriate, correct investments by the state in the economic and cultural development plans of minority areas under the guideline "the state and the people working together." Mutual assistance among the minorities is a practice handed down through history and conforms with the laws involved in the process of building socialism in our country. Mutual assistance among the

minorities is the complete opposite of ethnic jealousy as well as partialism, localism and ethnic chauvinism. Mutual assistance among the minorities will make the solidarity and harmony among the nationalities increasingly strong.

Working together in the exercise of collective ownership is the principle guaranteeing that the solidarity among the nationalities reaches a high level of development. It defines the ownership role of the working people of the various nationalities living in our country--without discriminating against the majority or a minority--as regards the entire territory of Vietnam and every aspect of social life. It taps, to a high degree, the consciousness, initiative and creativity of the people of the various nationalities in building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people is synonymous with developing the strength of our broad national unity. This is an entity in party work, government work and the work of the mass organizations, an entity that has the objective of launching a nationwide movement to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the present stage.

President Ho Chi Minh taught: the nationalities policy "has two points of utmost importance: uniting the nationalities and improving the standard of living of the minorities."(5) Unity among the nationalities on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual assistance and working together in the exercise of collective ownership are expressions of this thinking of Uncle Ho; at the same time, they encompass elements that are consistent with the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the present stage. The principles of the policy on unity among the nationalities that was set forth at the 5th Congress of the Party insure that the strength of the Vietnam community of nationalities is utilized, to a high degree, in the socialist revolution. They fulfill the role of guiding the adoption of specific policies by our state for economic and cultural development; conversely, the achievements recorded in building and developing the economy and culture provide a real basis for insuring that solidarity among the nationalities is solidified and strengthened. We "must especially concern ourselves with the minorities in the highlands. Those nationalities that have achieved a higher level of development must consider it to be their glorious responsibility to help the other nationalities and overcome the phenomena of not respecting or trusting one another or feeling ethnic inferiority."(6) Doing this lays a firm foundation for advancing the mass movement in the minority areas and strengthening the broad solidarity among the nationalities.

At present, our enemy is continuously trying to undermine us in every way possible. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, although they have suffered shameful defeats, are still collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers and making every effort to intensify the psychological war, exacerbate remaining ethnic prejudices, distort history, create confusion and divisions and provoke ethnic discrimination in order to undermine our national solidarity and sabotage our people's socialist construction. Therefore, in conjunction with building and developing the economy and culture of the entire country, the urgent matters we face at this time in our work regarding the nationalities are:



We must intensify our efforts to propagandize and teach the general line and the nationalities policy of the party among the people (including the ethnic majority). It is absolutely necessary that we thoroughly teach the nationalities policy to all forces sent to work in those areas in which the ethnic minorities reside. The program of instruction at the schools of the party, the state, the army and the various levels and sectors must include instruction concerning the nationalities policy. The general school, higher and vocational middle school and trade training sectors as well as the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union must adopt plans for teaching the nationalities policy to youths and students (with attention to students who are about to graduate and youths nearing military age).

We must promptly thwart each scheme and act of sabotage of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, the imperialists and their lackeys. We must display high vigilance and be ready to refute arguments designed to distort the historic origins of the nationalities, distort the lines and policies of our party and state, slander our leaders, cadres and troops, divide the nationalities and divide the army in order to undermine our broad national solidarity. Now, more than ever before, our nation-state consciousness must be cultivated and strengthened; the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the spirit of socialist international cooperation must be thoroughly cultivated among all compatriots. Each and every Vietnamese, regardless of ethnic background, must clearly realize that building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland are the only course that leads to comfort, happiness and a civilized life for everyone, for all the nationalities of Vietnam.

Through specific policies and actions in the areas of economic and cultural development and by means of the exemplary role played by cadres and party members, we must raise the political awareness and strengthen the confidence of the compatriots of the various nationalities, eliminate all remaining feelings of ethnic inferiority, prejudice and jealousy and prevent and combat the thinking of ethnic chauvinism and ethnic bigotry.

The training of cadres among the ethnic minorities must be accelerated. Our practical experience has confirmed the existence of the following law: in order for the party's nationalities policy to be implemented, we must have cadres who are minority members, are local people. Sending ethnic Vietnamese cadres and lowland cadres to work in the minority areas and the mountains is very necessary, not only necessary in preceding stages of the revolution, but also very necessary in the present stage as well as throughout the entire course of development of our country's revolution. The presence of cadres of all types in all remote areas, all economically and culturally underdeveloped areas in the North and the South, along the borders, in the mountains and on the islands for the purpose of working together to build and defend the fatherland is an objective requirement and manifests the spirit among our cadres, troops and people of being the masters of the entire country. The revolution is always the undertaking of the masses; within the revolutionary movement of the masses, new needs and capabilities arise and a corps of cadres inevitably emerges to organize and guide the movement. From the mass movement, progressive persons inevitably emerge, persons who are trusted and strengthened by the masses and it is only these persons who possess all that

is needed to complete the specific tasks demanded by the movement. Therefore, one of the matters of pressing urgency as well as routine, long-range importance, is the need to adopt positive policies and measures for training and utilizing minority cadres and cadres who are local persons in order to promptly meet the requirements of the movement (these cadres must include leadership cadres, management cadres, scientific, technical and professional cadres and so forth) from the installations to the district and provincial levels and the central sectors. Facts have proven that those places at which the movement is solid, the economy and culture have been developed well and the solidarity among the nationalities has been strengthened are places that have a large corps of ethnic cadres and local cadres of high quality. Therefore, "every level and every sector must implement the nationalities policy of the party within the scope of their responsibilities and capabilities and must attach importance to properly training leadership cadres, management cadres and scientific-technical cadres among the minorities, beginning with training cadres for the districts and installations." (7) Because, the quality of cadres is the factor determining the success of leadership work.

The new culture movement must be intensified in order to gradually abolish backward customs and habits, combat superstitious beliefs and overcome bad habits that affect production and everyday life, such as festivals that last for many days, old style funerals and weddings, intricate diets, gambling, alcoholism, opium addiction, extravagant, unplanned spending and so forth. We must hold a new kind of festivals, such as field work festivals, forest festivals, tree planting festivals, festivals of all the people caring for and educating teenagers and children and so forth as many places have done for the purpose of creating new cultural lifestyles (that gradually become traditions) while achieving economic benefits and practical educational benefits and generating a happy and wholesome atmosphere. Such festivals will cause the masses to consciously reject their backward habits and customs and promote the movement to educate the young generation and provide a general school education, with special importance attached to wiping out illiteracy and attention to continuously improving the quality of supplementary education among the ethnic minorities, especially in the highlands, along the borders and at remote places. The work of such type schools as general education boarding schools, highland teenager and children schools, work-study schools and so forth, which have helped to train a rather large and well qualified corps of ethnic cadres, must be reviewed and expanded. The education sector and the various localities must gain experience, conduct research and propose new policies and new organizational measures that are consistent with the characteristics of each minority area in order to increase the rate of cultural and educational development and lay the foundation for meeting the ethnic cadre needs of the party and state as well as raising the cultural level of the ethnic minorities, thus helping to abolish the differences in economic and cultural development that exist among the various nationalities within our country.

The people of the different nationalities in our country, in the lowlands as well as the mountains, in the North as well as the South, in the deltas as well as along the borders and on the islands have always been united in a solid bloc under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam and have

bravely overcome every sacrifice and hardship, defeated every aggressor, won their independence and freedom and are now steadily advancing toward socialism.

In the present stage of the revolution, united and firmly confident in the leadership of the Party Central Committee, headed by the esteemed General Secretary Le Duan, the people of the various nationalities in our country will surely uphold their revolutionary tradition, overcome each difficulty through self-reliance, thwart each scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy, successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Resolution of the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 74.
2. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 133.
3. The Resolution of the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 75.
4. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 133.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Cac dan toc doan ket, binh dang, giup do nhau cung tien bo" [Unity, Equality and Mutual Assistance for the Purpose of Progress Among the Various Nationalities], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 33.
6. Speech by Truong Chinh at the 7th Congress (second round) of the Son La Provincial Party Organization, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 8 February 1983.
7. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 133-134.

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INVESTIGATIVE REPORT, SOME THOUGHTS ON IMPROVING THE PRODUCT CONTRACT SYSTEM  
WITHIN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 37-43, 48

[Article by Xuan Kieu]

[Text] The use of product contracts within agriculture in recent years has yielded significant results in developing production and improving the living conditions of farmers. Having examined the actual situation in a number of districts and cooperatives in Ha Nam Ninh Province, we would like to boldly present some thoughts on improving the new contract practices within the agricultural cooperatives that we had an opportunity to study.

The essence of the new contract is that it smoothly combines the three interests (the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer) and closely links the interests of the laborer to the final product, thus making farmers enthusiastic about production. As a result of implementing the new contracts, the economic potentials and the potentials in the labor and arable land of cooperatives are being developed, are being used in a thorough and efficient manner. In many farm households, the entire family arises at dawn to care for the fields for which they have accepted contracts from the cooperative just as they do their own fields. Families make use of every source of supplies and fertilizer to invest in production on the fields being worked under contracts.

Persons who were once lazy, who abandoned their jobs at cooperatives to become merchants have now returned and accepted contracts in a positive spirit. The new contracts have brought suitable jobs back to cooperative member families, consequently, families are utilizing all available labor and working in a diligent manner, as a result of which there is now a close link between cooperative members and the fields of the cooperative.

The new contracts have generated enthusiasm on the part of farmers in production and caused them to use every type of land to expand production. The cooperatives that we studied have resurveyed their fields and adopted plans for managing and utilizing them in a more effective manner. Farmers truly respect the land and are using it in an economical manner. They are using every bit of soil, every meter of river, pond and so forth in

production. The new contracts have prompted farmers to make full use of traditional rice growing experience while concerning themselves with applying technological advances to increase yields and output.

This method of contracting has put the labor, land and capital of cooperative member families to use in raising grain yields and output on the fields worked under contract. At many cooperatives, rice yields and output increased by nearly 50 percent or even doubled in 1981 and 1982 compared to 1980. Many cooperative member households have exceeded their contract output quotas by 1.5 to 2 times.

<u>Unit</u>	<u>1980</u>		<u>1981</u>		<u>1982</u>	
	<u>Rice Yield</u> <u>(tons/hectare)</u>	<u>Output</u> <u>(tons)</u>	<u>Rice Yield</u> <u>(tons/hectare)</u>	<u>Output</u> <u>(tons)</u>	<u>Rice Yield</u> <u>(tons/hectare)</u>	<u>Output</u> <u>(tons)</u>
My Thanh Cooperative	3.6	530		1,100		1,151
An Thai Cooperative	3.3	438	4.3	524	4.9	607
Nam Ninh Cooperative	4.3	900	5.7	1,130	8.3	1,392
Hai Thanh Cooperative	6.5	1,950	7.4	2,220	10.1	2,557
Hai Dong Cooperative	5	1,011	6.3	1,342	8.2	1,892

The above data show that rice yields and output have increased at a rather high rate at weak and deficient cooperatives, such as the An Thai Cooperative, average cooperatives, such as the My Thanh Cooperative in Binh Luc District and the Nam Ninh Cooperative in Nam Ninh District, and above average and excellent cooperatives, such as the Hai Thanh and Hai Dong Cooperatives in Hai Hau District. In particular, during the 1982-1983 5th month-spring season, many cooperatives exceeded their contract yield quotas by anywhere from 50 to 200 percent. The An Thai Cooperative, which had a contract yield quota of 18.85 quintals per hectare, recorded an average yield of 38.4 quintals per hectare. The My Thanh Cooperative exceeded its contract yield quota of 20.5 tons per hectare, recording an average yield of 31.5 quintals per hectare. The Hai Thanh Cooperative, which had a contract yield quota of 80.4 quintals per hectare, recorded an average yield of 100.1 quintals per hectare. Binh Luc District, which had a contract yield quota of 20.7 quintals per hectare, produced an average yield of 30 quintals per hectare.

As a result of exceeding contract quotas, the income of cooperative members has constantly risen. In 1980, the lowest eating standard at a cooperative was 6 kilograms of paddy per person per month and the highest was 14 kilograms per person per month. In 1982, the lowest eating standard at a cooperative was 21 kilograms per person per month and the highest was 34 kilograms per person per month (this does not include the paddy harvested by cooperative members on their "5 percent" plots and the different pieces of additional ground used to raise rice). Having used product contracts in 1981, 1982 and the 1983 5th month-spring season, Binh Luc District, which is located in the lowlying area of Ha Nam Ninh Province and was once a district that encountered

many difficulties with grain, now enjoys an eating standard of 460 kilograms of grain per person per year. In the districts of Hai Hau, Xuan Thuy and Nam Ninh, there are many cooperative member households that have surplus paddy and hope that the state will trade building materials, high quality cloth and other necessary goods for their paddy.

The increase in grain production and the stability of grain production have created the conditions for the livestock production of cooperative member families to develop. Although the number of hogs in household hog herds has remained the same or increased only slightly, the market weight of hogs has risen, consequently, pork output has increased and so has the income of each household.

As a result of the development of grain production, farmers not only have enough paddy for themselves but also have much paddy to sell to the state. The An Thai Cooperative, which was once one of the weak and deficient cooperatives in Binh Luc District, never managed to fulfill its grain obligation to the state in any year prior to 1980. Yet, in only 2 years of working under contracts, the cooperative's members sold more than 20 tons of paddy to the state. After meeting its stable grain obligation of 13,200 tons of paddy, Nam Ninh District mobilized the people to sell 5,248 tons over and above obligations to the state in 1981 and 9,300 tons during the 1983 5th month-spring season.

From the figures presented above, we can see that there is still much surplus paddy in many districts and at many cooperatives (except at a number of cooperatives that were hit hard by natural disasters and received a waiver of obligation from the state); if the state had many goods to trade with farmers, the quantity of paddy mobilized by the state would be much larger.

The results that have been achieved in developing production and improving the standard of living of farmers are the most vivid, clearest manifestations of the superiority and effectiveness of the new contracting method. Of course, the positive aspects of this method are also evident in many other areas and are dependent upon the level of organization and management of each type cooperative, which differs from one place to another. At those cooperatives that have always been above average or excellent, the new contracts have been implemented in a creative and proper manner; at weak and deficient cooperatives, the implementation of the new contracts has generally been marked by numerous mistakes and frequently taken the form of "non-specific" contracts. The most correct attitude to adopt at this time is to fully realize and correctly evaluate the positive aspects of the new contracts while realizing the shortcomings and mistakes that exist regarding them, not for the purpose of criticizing them from afar, but to find ways to improve this contracting method.

From the perspective of the issue as described above and on the basis of the research conducted at several cooperatives, we feel that certain contradictions have arisen which must be resolved in order to improve the contract system.

Our country's agriculture was once an agriculture based on the monoculture of rice. Since cooperativization, we have gradually broken the cycle of monoculture. In addition to the amount of area under the cultivation of rice, the production of subsidiary food crops and industrial crops has constantly been expanded and the strong development of livestock production and the trade sector has fundamentally changed the allocation of crops, the structure of the economy and the income of cooperatives, from the monoculture of rice to full-scale agricultural production. This stage of development is consistent with the law governing the division of labor within agriculture in our country and has yielded practical economic returns. Due to the improper implementation of Secretariat Directive Number 100 on product contracts within agriculture, the production of subsidiary food crops, livestock production, especially collective livestock production, and the trade sector at some cooperatives are declining.

As regards the production of subsidiary food crops and industrial crops, the extent of this decline has, generally speaking, been significant at those places where the amount of cropland per capita is relatively high and there is much land for subsidiary food crop production. For example, Binh Luc District had 3,200 hectares under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops and 200 hectares of jute in 1980; by 1982, it had only 800 hectares of subsidiary food crops and 79 hectares of jute. Nam Ninh District had 3,960 hectares of winter subsidiary food crops in 1979 but now has only 2,000 hectares, with a resulting decline in subsidiary food crop output from 10,580 tons in 1981 to only 8,114 tons in 1982. The decline in the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops has also been due to the low returns from subsidiary food crop and industrial crop production (the price and investment policies regarding them are inappropriate); on the other hand, the investment capabilities of cooperative member families are limited and they have, as a result, concentrated everything that they do have on rice production.

Hog production, especially collective hog production, has declined in Binh Luc, Nam Ninh, Xuan Thuy and Hai Hau Districts. The total number of hogs raised by Nam Ninh District declined from 85,000 in 1980 to 82,000 in 1981 and 80,000 in 1982; collective hog production declined from 18,000 hogs in 1980 to 9,200 hogs in 1981 and 4,100 hogs in 1982. As of 1 July 1983, the collective hog herd only numbered 2,000 hogs. At the Xuan Tien Cooperative in Xuan Thuy District, the collective hog herd declined from 800 hogs in 1980 to less than 200 in 1981-1982; meanwhile, the number of hogs raised by families remained at the level of 2,300 (in 1980, 1981 and 1982). In 1980, the My Thanh Cooperative in Binh Luc District raised 1,250 hogs, 200 of which were raised by the collective; in 1981, it disbanded its collective hog farm and the number of hogs raised by families increased, although not significantly.

The facts presented above reflect three factors: the ability of cooperative member families to increase the number of hogs they raise is limited and cooperative members attach more importance to increasing the average weight of hogs than they do to increasing the number of hogs being raised. Of greater importance is the fact that the rate at which cooperatives contract with cooperative member families to raise hogs (5-6 kilograms of paddy for 1 kilogram of pork, live weight) is lower than the market price, consequently, cooperative members are not eager to accept these contracts.

At some places, the development of the trade sector is coming to a halt and declining. Binh Luc District, which once had 49 brick kilns, now has only 27 in operation. Some 4,000 craftsmen skilled in embroidery throughout the district have abandoned embroidery and returned to farm work. The Hai Thanh Cooperative in Hai Hau District earned 30 percent of its total output value from the trade sector in 1980 but now only earns about 15 to 16 percent. The causes of this situation are many. First, the labor within the trade sector is usually able-bodied, technically skilled labor. At those places where the amount of cropland per capita is high, each laborer usually accepts a contract for anywhere from 8 to 9 sao to 1 mau of cropland. Those families that have much labor can easily carry out production and make the necessary investments. Those families that have little labor or labor that is not able-bodied encounter difficulties, consequently, laborers in the trade sector have returned to work with their families in contract fields. Secondly, the trades are dependent upon raw materials supplied by the state. Unlike previously, the state is not providing a full supply of raw materials and cooperative members lack work. Thirdly, the business returns from some trades are very low and because more money can be made raising rice, cooperative members have returned to rice production.

The above contradictions are most evident within the crop production sector, between rice production and the expansion of subsidiary food crop and industrial crop production and between the effort to increase crop production and the effort to develop livestock production and expand the trade sector. These contradictions can only be resolved through a system of reasonable policies and by making income adjustments between rice producers and the producers of subsidiary and industrial crops, between crop production and livestock production and the development of the trade sector. In the immediate future, in order to restore subsidiary food crop and industrial crop production to their former levels and restore the traditional trades within the cooperatives, the state must provide assistance in the form of raw materials and supplies, must supply grain to those persons who raise industrial crops and must establish reasonable procurement prices to provide incentive for farmers in production. At the same time, every cooperative must clearly realize the importance of developing subsidiary food crop and industrial crop production and developing the trade sector in expanding the division of labor within the cooperative and increasing the income of cooperative members. On the basis of this realization, each cooperative must adopt an appropriate investment, labor and supply (workpoints and expenditures) plan and closely link the assignment of rice contracts to subsidiary food crop and industrial crop contracts, with a clearly defined system of rewards and penalties governing those persons who raise subsidiary and industrial crops, thus insuring that their income is equivalent to the income of rice producers. Together with restoring subsidiary food crop and industrial crop production and developing the trade sector, it is necessary to rapidly restore collective hog production on a suitable scale. In the past, many persons maintained that collective hog production could not be profitable because, at some places, 7 kilograms of paddy were required to produce 1 kilogram of pork, live weight, at a time when contracting with cooperative member families to raise hogs only required 4 kilograms of paddy to produce 1 kilogram of pork, live weight. Today, market prices have risen and many cooperatives must contract with cooperative members at the rate of 8-10 or 12



kilograms of paddy for 1 kilogram of pork, live weight. Thus, collective livestock production (even though it takes 8 kilograms of paddy to produce 1 kilogram of pork) is still profitable; moreover, cooperatives can develop a stable supply of pork to meet the regular needs of the state and it is only by developing collective hog production that cooperatives can develop stable sources of fertilizer for supply to families that are short of labor and families that are encountering difficulties with fertilizer. The districts and cooperatives mentioned above clearly realize this. Hai Hau District has decided to restore and strengthen collective hog farms and maintain hog herds at a suitable size.

As mentioned above, the major advantage of the new contracting method is that it results in higher yields and output than the old method; however, this very advantage is giving rise to certain contradictions in product distribution within cooperatives.

To implement the new contracting method, practically all cooperatives have assigned fields and stable contract output quotas to cooperative member households. This is a necessary step because it is the only way to give cooperative members peace of mind and cause them to eagerly invest all the labor and liquid capital they have in production on the fields for which they accepted contracts. As a result of stable yield and output quotas (stabilized for a period of 3 to 5 years), the paddy output reflected in the distribution plan of the cooperative hardly ever changes on only increases slightly (as a result of increases in the amount of area under cultivation), even though the total paddy output harvested each year has risen very quickly.

1981

<u>Total Grain Output</u> <u>(Contract output plus</u> <u>overage) (tons)</u>		<u>In the Distribution Plan</u>			
<u>Unit</u>		<u>Output</u> <u>(tons)</u>	<u>To the State</u> <u>(tons)</u>	<u>To the</u> <u>Cooperative</u> <u>(tons)</u>	<u>To Cooperative</u> <u>Members(tons)</u>
An Phu					
Cooperative	524	445	107	104	234
Hai Dong					
Cooperative	1342	1126	246	230	650
Xuan Tien					
Cooperative	2411	1460	250	303	907
Hai Tan					
Cooperative		846			
Nam Ninh					
District	76796	58988	16305		
Hai Hau					
District	96345	58845	16669		

1982

		<u>Total Grain Output</u> <u>(contract output plus</u> <u>overage)(tons)</u>	<u>In the Distribution Plan</u>		
			<u>Output</u> <u>(tons)</u>	<u>To the</u> <u>State(tons)</u>	<u>To the</u> <u>Cooperative</u> <u>Members (tons)</u>
<u>Unit</u>					
An Phu					
Cooperative	607	456	119	90	247
Hai Dong					
Cooperative	1892	1175	240	228	707
Xuan Tien					
Cooperative	3047	1460	225	253	982
Hai Tan					
Cooperative	1703	896	322	170	404
Nam Ninh					
District	92570	60004			
Hai Hau					
District	97586	60100			

As regards product distribution within cooperatives, the distribution of grain output plays the decisive role in insuring that all economic interests are satisfied. Under the present method of distribution at cooperatives, contributions to the state include taxes and the grain obligation, which has been stabilized together with the contract output quota. However, in 1981, 1982 and the recent 5th month-spring season, because the social product increased, the quantity of paddy procured by the state (through two-way trade) was higher than previously. Generally speaking, the quantity of paddy allocated to the collective has not increased. At those places where natural disasters have not occurred and cooperative members have met or exceeded their contract quotas, the amount of paddy allocated to the collective has been maintained. At those places that have experienced crop failures and cooperative members have fallen short of contract quotas, the amount of paddy allocated to the collective has usually declined. For example, at the Nam Thanh Cooperative in Nam Ninh District, while cooperative members exceeded their contract quotas by 184 tons of paddy during the recent 5th month-spring season, the cooperative had to provide 21 tons of paddy from its fund to compensate for the shortfall on 98 mau of rice that did not head because of a drought. At the Hai Phuoc Cooperative in Hai Hau District, 40 percent of the rice transplanted during the recent 5th month-spring season failed, consequently, there was no paddy for the fund of the collective.

At many cooperatives, the amount of paddy allocated to the collective is not enough to meet the requirement of increasing the accumulation of capital in order to expand production. If we calculate the percentage by which rice yields and actual rice output (contract output and the output over and above contracts), we find that the real income of cooperative members has risen very rapidly, the amount of paddy allocated to the collective has not increased, and even declined at some places, and the amount of paddy sold over and above obligations to the state has increased compared to previous years.

Deserving of attention is that the actual output of cooperatives is anywhere from 50 percent to twice as high as the output required under contracts. For example, during the 1983 5th month-spring season, the An Phu Cooperative in Binh Luc District set the contract output quota for its members as 230 tons of paddy but actual output was 428 tons of paddy (cooperative members exceeded the contract quota by 198 tons). Also during the 1983 5th month-spring season, the Nam Ninh Cooperative in Nam Ninh District set a contract output quota for its members of 582 tons but actual output was 971 tons (the contract was exceeded by 389 tons). At the Hai Thanh Cooperative in Hai Hau District, the contract output quota for the 1983 5th month-spring season was 963 tons but actual output was 1,728 tons (the contract was exceeded by 765 tons), etc. As a result of contract quotas being exceeded, the eating standard per person per month outside the distribution plan (that is, based only on the paddy produced over and above the contract quota) at some places is equal to or higher than the average eating standard contained within the distribution plan of the cooperative. For example, at the Nam Ninh Cooperative, the eating standard per person per month under the 1983 5th month-spring distribution plan was 13 kilograms of paddy, but the eating standard outside the distribution plan (as a result of exceeding the contract quota) was 15 kilograms of paddy. Also during the 1983 5th month-spring season, the Dong Tien Cooperative in Hai Thanh Village, Hai Hau District, had an eating standard of 13.2 kilograms of paddy under its distribution plan but the eating standard outside the plan (as a result of exceeding the contract quota) was 19 kilograms of paddy per person per month. At many cooperatives, the total amount of paddy distributed to cooperative members under the distribution plan has been equal to or less than the total amount of paddy by which cooperative members have exceeded contract quotas. At the Hai Tan Cooperative in 1982, cooperative members were distributed 412 tons of paddy but exceeded their contract quota by 807 tons. At the Hai Thanh Cooperative, 884 tons of paddy were distributed to cooperative members in 1982 and 662 tons were produced over and above the contract quota. At the Dong Tien Cooperative, 706 tons of paddy were distributed to cooperative members in 1982 and 727 tons were produced over and above the contract quota. At the Nam Ninh Cooperative, 324 tons of paddy were distributed to cooperative members in 1982 and 389 tons were produced over and above the contract quota. If we also include the paddy harvested by cooperative members from their "5 percent" plots and the paddy harvested as a result of making full use of all available land (in rivers, peach barrels, bushel barrels, gardens and so forth), income is much larger.

The facts presented above show that the real income of cooperative member families has been constantly rising but the income earned directly from the collective economy does not constitute a high percentage of total income. This raises the following matter: we must give thought to strengthening the collective economy and increasing the income earned from the collective economy so that it constitutes the major portion of the income of cooperative member families. This is a very important factor in maintaining close ties between cooperative members and their cooperatives and insuring that the new, socialist production relations are strengthened and perfected in the countryside.

To correct the unreasonable situation described above, some cooperatives intend to adjust their contract quotas with a view toward regulating the

distribution of income among cooperative members, the cooperative and the state. This is a necessary step but it is one that must be taken very cautiously because if contract output quotas are increased but production costs (labor, supplies, fertilizer and so forth) are not allowed to increase in a corresponding manner, cooperatives will not stimulate the development of production nor provide incentive for cooperative members to produce. As a result, if, in the next several years, material and technical conditions do not change, contract output quotas should be retained at present levels. However, each cooperative must intensify its effort to teach the sense of collective ownership to its members and motivate them to contribute to building the collective and fulfill obligations to the state.

Another urgent question, one that has attracted the attention of many persons, is: has this method of contracting caused the erosion of the material-technical bases that have been built over a period of many years?

To shed light on this question, we must return to the fundamentals of contracting. A contract is an objective requirement in organizing cooperation among labor; however, specific forms of contracts, such as the product contracts now in use within agriculture, are one of several transitional economic measures. The application of any transitional economic form must be based on the level of development of production forces and the degree to which production relations have been perfected; in turn, the establishment of a new form of contract demands that material and technical conditions suited to it also be established. It is a fact that there is a serious waste of assets, such as granaries, drying yards, livestock pens and so forth, at cooperatives at this time. This is one of the greatest difficulties faced by cooperatives when implementing the new contracting method. When hogs were being raised collectively, there was a need for collective hog pens; however, when we began to contract with cooperative member families to raise hogs, a portion of the collective hog farm became unnecessary, surplus capacity. The same applies to the harvesting of rice. If harvested collectively, there is a need for granaries, drying yards and rice threshing machines but when laborers are contracted to raise rice, they can thresh and dry it in their own yards. Although some of the property of cooperatives is, as described above, not being used, cooperatives are still subject to a high annual rate of depreciation on this property. This is the basic reason why production costs at some cooperatives have risen and the value of the manday has been declining.

The above situation reflects the subjective shortcomings of cooperatives in the use of existing material-technical bases or the construction of new ones. At the same time, under the present contracting method, it was inevitable that some collective property, such as granaries, drying yards and livestock pens, would be unsuitable and become unnecessary.

Of importance to cooperatives at this time is the need to re-evaluate and re-examine all existing material bases and, on this basis, establish production plans that are designed to make full use of existing material bases or invest in the redevelopment of old bases or the construction of new ones that are suited to the present realities of production. We should not hastily reduce the scale of production without careful consideration. The fact that many

cooperatives disbanded numerous collective hog farms and must now restore their hog herds to a suitable size is something to which we should give our thought.

Another problem facing many cooperatives is how the "five jobs" and the "three jobs" should be performed to insure that production is carried out smoothly. The situation at a number of cooperatives shows that these eight jobs (which range from the preparation of fields to harvesting) are closely interrelated and have a reciprocal effect upon one another. In order to perform these jobs well, there must be an investment of labor, supplies and capital by the state, the collective and cooperative member families in each job (with the labor of each family considered to be a component of collective labor).

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## THE REDISTRIBUTION OF CROPLAND AND AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN TAY NINH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 44-48

[Article by Phan Van, chairman of the Tay Ninh Provincial People's Committee]

[Text] Tay Ninh, a province in eastern Nam Bo, has a population of more than 700,000 and has more than 200,000 hectares of farmland, an average of 2,400 square meters per capita. However, its cropland is not uniformly distributed. In the districts of Duong Minh Chau and Tan Bien, there are 5,000 square meters of cropland per capita. In Hoa Thanh District and Tay Ninh City, there are only 1,300 square meters per capita. In the past, cropland was controlled by several French plantations and large landowners. In the war of resistance against France, the revolutionary government confiscated some cropland from exploiters and distributed it to farmers. During the period of American-puppet occupation, they implemented an agrarian reform policy and moved the populace into strategic hamlets, as a result of which confusion continued to surround the ownership of cropland and the cropland issue was made even more complex.

Following the total liberation of the province, during the period from 1976 to 1978, in keeping with Party Secretariat Directive 235 and Office of the Premier Decision 188, Tay Ninh confiscated the cropland of Vietnamese traitors, landowners and compradore bourgeoisie who had fled overseas. The confiscated cropland plus publicly owned cropland, some 2,000 hectares, were distributed to more than 3,000 farm families that had no land or lacked land. In 1978 and 1979, in keeping with Political Bureau Directive 57 and Party Secretariat Directive 43, the Tay Ninh Provincial Party Committee decided to continue to agitate among farmers for the redistribution of cropland. However, the differences in the amount of cropland owned among the various strata of farmers continued to be quite large. Wealthy farmers and rural bourgeoisie were still working hand in hand with urban bourgeoisie and continued to be the force controlling the main production processes in the countryside, monopolizing the market and exploiting the various strata of farmers. There were still many prosperous middle farmers in the countryside who owned much land and hired labor to work it. A cropland investigation conducted in the countryside revealed that exploiters constituted 2.86 percent of the number of families but owned 10.4 percent of the cropland, an average of 6,716 square meters per person. Prosperous middle farmers accounted for

14.5 percent of the number of families in the countryside but owned 29 percent of farmland, an average of 3,490 square meters per person. Excluding the lower stratum of middle farmers, poor farmers who had no cropland or lacked cropland constituted 22.58 percent of farm families but only owned 6.3 percent of the cropland, an average of 579 square meters per person.

During the period from 1978 to 1980, Tay Ninh again mobilized the farmers of the province, this time organizing 2,000 work rotation teams, 330 production collectives, 3 agricultural production cooperatives and 17 agricultural machine collectives. The majority of the persons who joined the production collectives and agricultural cooperatives at that time were poor farmers who had little capital and lacked instruments of production, consequently, they encountered very many difficulties in earning their livings collectively. Many persons, especially persons who had contributed much cropland to the collective, including even the families of some cadres and party members demanded that their cropland be returned to them so that they could farm it privately. Thus, by the end of 1980, 50 percent of the work rotation teams, production collectives and agricultural cooperatives that had been established within the province had been disbanded. In Hoa Thanh District, five of the six production collectives were disbanded. In Phuoc Chi Village, 35 of the 37 production collectives were disbanded. Within the province, 15 of the 17 agricultural machine collectives were disbanded so that they could operate privately.

Thus, 5 years after being totally liberated and starting the advance toward socialism, the exploitation through cropland of bygone years continued in the countryside of Tay Ninh and production collectives had collapsed or seriously declined shortly after being established!

Why had the investigation of cropland ownership, the redistribution of cropland and agricultural transformation in Tay Ninh been carried out in such a slow and shabby fashion? The Standing Committee of the Tay Ninh Provincial Party Committee conducted a harsh review and pointed out the reasons for the movement's decline.

Because they did not have a full understanding of the arduous, complex and decisive nature of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, the various party committee echelons and levels of government, from the province to the districts and villages, did not focus their efforts on leading the cropland investigation, the redistribution of cropland or agricultural transformation and did not consider these jobs to be jobs that must be performed on a constant basis in the countryside. The various sectors and mass organizations within the province did not establish clearly defined tasks nor adopt plans for guiding the lower levels in participating in and supporting the cropland investigation and agricultural transformation. They did not provide the education needed to clearly show the differences between laborers and exploiters in order to establish the socialist revolutionary stand among cadres and party members. The building of the party in the countryside was not closely linked to the cropland investigation, the redistribution of cropland or agricultural transformation. In the guidance of these three efforts, importance was not attached to conducting pilot projects and good models were not thoroughly summarized, consequently, their impact spread slowly.

Those places that did manage to carry out the cropland investigation and the redistribution of cropland usually failed to properly organize the study of the objectives, principles and policy involved in the redistribution of cropland by the mass of farmers so that everyone understood them well. Those cadres who personally conducted the cropland investigation and redistribution wavered, were indecisive and feared that if they engaged in struggle they would offend someone, consequently, a situation developed in which cropland was taken from everyone and redistributed, even from persons who owned less than the locality's average. Importance was not attached to mobilizing the mass of farmers to participate in the struggle and willingly "share joys and sorrows" in the cropland investigation and the redistribution of cropland. The plans under which the investigation and the redistribution of cropland were conducted were extremely rudimentary and overlooked some cropland (especially cropland being farmed illegally). Cropland was distributed to some persons who were not even eligible to receive it. Many places allowed district and village agencies to keep the farmland they used to support themselves instead of distributing all of it to farmers who had no cropland or lacked cropland. The law promulgated by the provincial people's committee prohibiting the illegal sale of cropland was not widely disseminated within the countryside. Many persons, including families of cadres and party members, illegally dispersed their cropland holdings. Many persons among those whose cropland had to be redistributed, including more than a few cadres and party members, refused to fully comply with the cropland policy and continued to own much cropland and hire labor to work it.

The failure to thoroughly carry out the redistribution of cropland and abolish exploitation through cropland had the unavoidable consequence of impeding cooperativization in the countryside. The movement to earn a living collectively in the countryside also lacked stability and was declining more with each passing day because of the failure to closely coordinate transformation with construction, with primary emphasis placed upon construction, and the failure to reorganize production and strengthen production forces. Moreover, agricultural transformation was being carried out by itself, that is, was not linked to the transformation of industry and commerce, consequently, the urban bourgeoisie continued to monopolize the market through trade, thus causing farmers to waver and not want to begin earning their livings collectively. The production guidelines of the majority of the production collectives and agricultural cooperatives still reflected the fragmented, decentralized nature of private production and were not oriented toward centralized production, specialized farming and intensive cultivation. Importance had not been attached to organizing the trade sector in order to make efficient use of labor and raise income. The production plans of many production collectives and cooperatives were still based mainly on assistance from the state and did not tap the self-reliance of collective and cooperative members in building the collective economy. The majority of the production collectives only collectivized rice paddies, consequently, those persons who had much land used to raise subsidiary food crops and industrial crops, those who had many buffalo and cattle and those who had much machinery continued to do business privately and earn high incomes. This gave rise to a sharp contradiction between these persons and collective members who



had nothing more than their own labor. Many production collectives implemented the "product contract" but the lack of close guidance resulted in a situation in which each household cultivated and harvested its own fields and the collective management committee could not manage the products that were produced nor carry out distribution.

As a result, at many places, the production solidarity team and production collective movement was a movement in name only and gradually collapsed. Reactionaries and undesirable elements used this as an excuse to distort the cooperativization policy of the party, thus, sowing confusion and doubt among the masses.

On the basis of the actual situation and the specific causes described above, the Standing Committee of the Tay Ninh Provincial Party Committee established agricultural transformation (consisting of the cropland investigation, the redistribution of cropland and the organizing of farmers in collective production) as the central and constant task of the party organizations in the countryside.

Gaining experience from the model village of An Hoa (a model in investigating cropland ownership, distributing cropland and abolishing exploitation through cropland) and the model cooperative of Tram Vang (a model in organizing farmers in different forms of collective production, ranging from a low to a high level of development), the Tay Ninh Provincial Party Committee reached a high level of consensus concerning specific requirements, forms of organization and a plan for thoroughly carrying out the redistribution of cropland in 1983 and organizing farmers in collective production, which will insure the completion of agricultural cooperativization under the two forms of production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives by 1985.

The redistribution of cropland and agricultural transformation are complex jobs that touch upon many persons; therefore, the provincial party committee and the various district party committees have provided direct, concerted leadership, conducted regular inspections, provided regular supervision, promptly detected and corrected mistakes and harshly dealt with actions taken for the sake of convenience, thus insuring the correct implementation of the policy. The various levels of the government have closely guided the implementation of the policy and coordinated with the different committees, sectors and mass organizations, thus insuring the successful performance of all jobs, from educating to mobilizing the masses, and promptly meeting the demands of the movement. Educational activities have been conducted to give everyone a clear understanding of and insure full compliance with the line, position and policy of the party and state. To begin with, cadres and party members were shown the arduous, complex and decisive nature of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, as a result of which they have displayed both willingness and awareness and fulfilled their exemplary-vanguard role in the cropland investigation, the redistribution of cropland and agricultural transformation. Cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces have been a very important force in educating families and competently assisting installations in the cropland investigation, the redistribution of cropland and agricultural transformation.

The province has clearly defined the responsibility of cadres and party members, most importantly key cadres, to set examples by declaring, on their own, how much cropland, how many buffalo and cattle, how many machines and implements and how much labor they have and set an example by carrying out the redistribution of cropland in accordance with policy and encouraging their families to begin earning their livings collectively. The province has inspected and harshly dealt with those cadres and party members who still own much land, hire workers in order to exploit their labor and fail to comply with the cropland redistribution and agricultural transformation policy. The cropland ownership declarations made by exploiters must be presented to the farmer team for supplemental opinions and approval, especially those of persons who have much cropland that is being farmed by other persons at other places. Once they have reported their cropland holdings, they are asked to voluntarily contribute it for redistribution. If they refuse, the district level government issues a decision, which is announced to the people, to confiscate the land. When their land is being confiscated, they are allowed to keep an amount of land equal to the local average to work on their own. We have agitated among farmers and tried to persuade them to "share joys and sorrows" in the redistribution of cropland and have encouraged them to unite and help one another develop production and improve their lives.

In the process of carrying out the cropland investigation and the redistribution of cropland, Tay Ninh has immediately prepared the conditions needed for cadre training, cooperativization and the organization and management of the collective economy so that farmers can be organized on increasingly high levels of collective production instead of stopping at private production upon the completion of the redistribution of cropland in the countryside. When organizing a production collective or agricultural cooperative, "product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers" are immediately initiated in order to make full use of all sources of labor, capital and supplies among the members of collectives and cooperatives and their families in order to practice intensive cultivation, raise crop yields and develop the collective economy. Production is organized well to insure success with the very first season and generate enthusiasm for collective labor among the members of collectives and cooperatives, thereby creating favorable conditions for developing production in subsequent seasons. Positive steps are taken to establish the conditions needed to upgrade work rotation teams and production collectives to agricultural production cooperatives. At those places at which farmers have only recently been distributed cropland and have not yet been able to prepare the conditions needed to organize collective production, we primarily encourage farmers to help one another; at the same time, the state has adopted a policy of providing partial assistance, one which provides them with food, seed and fertilizer so that they can successfully carry out production during their first season.

We have closely linked agricultural transformation and the transformation of industry and commerce, most importantly the transformation of the agricultural product processing sectors and the distribution-circulation sectors, in order to bolster the movement among farmers to earn their livings collectively.

In 2 years (1982-1983) of positive efforts in the struggle to redistribute cropland and transform agriculture, Tay Ninh virtually completed the redistribution of cropland at those places where cropland had to be redistributed (in villages that have less than 1,500 square meters of cropland per capita, we have not redistributed cropland, only organized farmers in collective production in a manner closely linked to abolishing exploitation through cropland). Since the redistribution of cropland, the work rotation teams, production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives that were established prior to the redistribution have maintained their operations and have been further strengthened and stabilized. The movement to establish work rotation teams, production collectives and production cooperatives has developed widely in the countryside, thus opening real prospects for bringing about 70 percent of farm families into collective production (20 percent into production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives and 50 percent into work rotation teams) by the end of 1983 and the start of 1984. In 1984, the completion of the large Dau Tieng water conservancy project will create better conditions for the practice of water conservancy and will further stimulate the smooth development of the province's agricultural cooperativization movement, thus insuring that Tay Ninh completes its agricultural cooperativization under the two forms of production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives by the end of 1985.

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NGUYEN AI QUOC AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE INDOCHINESE  
REVOLUTION DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1930 TO 1940

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 49-53, 60

[Article by The Tap]

[Text] Prior to and for many years during the period from 1930 to 1940, in his position as member of the Standing Committee of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International, in which he was personally in charge of the Southern Department, and his position as member of the Presidium of the Peasant International, in which he was in charge of the peasant movement in many Asian countries, Nguyen Ai Quoc made important contributions to the international communist movement and the Indochinese revolution.

The year 1930 was a major milestone in the very intense and rich life of revolutionary activity of Nguyen Ai Quoc; at the same time, it marked a brilliant page in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. In early 1930, having experienced a very hard struggle and overcome many difficult challenges in order to make all the necessary preparations, Nguyen Ai Quoc founded our party and a number of other fraternal parties on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the party and the party building experience of the Communist Party(b) of the Soviet Union. One of the first international activists to sow the seeds of revolution in Asia, he creatively applied Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Communist International to the specific conditions of this region, in general, and each country, in particular. His thinking and viewpoints concerning the national liberation revolution were proven by reality to be correct.

In accordance with the policy of the Communist International and together with training the first cadres of the Indochinese revolution, he also participated in training cadres for a number of countries in Southeast Asia. He established and strengthened the international communications and liaison system that competently supported the leadership of the revolutionary movement in this region during his years in the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International.

We all remember that, in 1921, while still active in France, Nguyen Ai Quoc realized the necessity and responsibility for him to spread communism to

Indochina, in particular, and Asia, in general. On the basis of researching the economic, political, social and historic conditions of this region, he raised the question: "Can the communist system be applied in Asia, in general, and Indochina, in particular? This is the question with which we are concerned now. In answer to it, we can state: yes."(1) He also pointed out the role and forces of the people of Asia and the close relationship between the struggle by the laboring people of Asia and the struggle of the working class and laboring people of the West. In 1924, before attending the 5th Congress of the Communist International, he made a proposal to the Far Eastern Bureau concerning the establishment of the Asian Group at the Far Eastern College. In late 1924, having been assigned his task and upon his return to Asia, Nguyen Ai Quoc did much to spread Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, in order to assemble and unite the revolutionary forces in Asia, he participated in the founding of the League of Oppressed Peoples in East Asia, which was a form of anti-imperialist united front consisting of patriots in Vietnam, China, India, Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and other countries. At that time, the Communist International made the following observation concerning the revolutionary movement in Asia and Indochina: "The movement to win national independence in the countries of Asia has entered a new stage. In Indochina, the same thing has happened. The masses have awakened and are struggling in an uncompromising manner to topple imperialism... The League of Forces Opposing Imperialism and Struggling for National Independence appeals to the anti-imperialist forces and organizations in Indochina to join together and struggle along with the movements in Indonesia, China, India and the Philippines against the imperialists."(2)

The Communist International also had high regard for the leadership role of the working class and the struggles waged by the laboring people of Indochina: "The working class in that colony is participating more with each passing day in the struggle against the imperialist, bourgeois and feudal exploiters and leading all the struggles that take place."(3) "These strikes, demonstrations and uprisings by laborers, peasants and youths have reached a high level, thus bolstering the revolutionary spirit of Indochinese militants..."

In Indochina, the extraordinary speed with which the revolutionary movement has developed is of major importance."(4)

With a high spirit of responsibility and ardent revolutionary feelings and by perfectly combining genuine patriotism and noble proletarian internationalism, Nguyen Ai Quoc strongly inspired the unyielding, tenacious spirit of struggle of our people and the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea. He observed and led the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe Tinh Soviet movement(5) while promptly encouraging the brave spirit of struggle of the people of India and Malaysia on the occasion of the anniversary of Lenin's death (21 January) and pointed out the correct leadership of the party in this struggle.(6)

When the Indochinese revolution was ruthlessly terrorized by the French imperialists, in a report of his entitled "Indochina Under the Saber of French Imperialism," Nguyen Ai Quoc angrily denounced them: "The French imperialists have used their latest scientific discoveries to fulfill their

'responsibility' to the Indochinese. Their automatic rifles and aircraft are weapons that they are using at the same time as sabers and bayonets to kill and behead people."(7) In numerous reports appended with detailed statistics and comparative data, he exposed the schemes, means and methods of suppression employed by the French imperialists to submerge the Indochinese revolution in a sea of blood; at the same time, he extolled the example of brave and unyielding struggle set by the cadres, party members and laboring people of Indochina: "Their revolutionary spirit is still strong. Despite this barbaric suppression, revolutionary struggles continue to occur."(8) "The campaign of brutal terror cannot diminish the revolutionary spirit of these militants."(9) "This spirit will lead the revolution to victory. No bayonet, no bombs or shells, no automatic rifles can extinguish this spirit."(10) To prove the revolutionary spirit of cadres and party members and their confidence in the victory of the revolution, Nguyen Ai Quoc recorded and reported to the Communist International the courageous statements made by some communist militants when put on trial in imperialist courts:

--"I joined the party to struggle for the happiness of mankind."

--"I am a worker and I joined the party to defend the interests of the proletariat."

--"I joined the communist party because communism is a correct philosophy... Toppling the imperialists, feudalists and capitalists is what I must do. This is my oath, do with me whatever you wish."

--"I had the courage to join the communist party and also have the courage to assume responsibility..."(11)

In the face of the French imperialists' brutal terror, Nguyen Ai Quoc confirmed the unshakeable confidence of Indochinese communists in the revolution: "We can firmly believe that, with experience, with sacrifice and with the masses by our side, communists will surely win victory."(12)

Nguyen Ai Quoc and the Party Central Committee enacted policies and measures designed to rebuild the base and restore the movement in those localities that had been viciously suppressed by the enemy. He attached importance to the building and strengthening of bases at places where workers were concentrated, in areas of strategic significance along the border with China and so forth. He contributed many ideas to the Party Central Committee concerning how to maintain the security of classified information and the security of agencies and cadres. He concerned himself with guiding the work of proselyting enemy soldiers and instructed cadres that they must know how to evoke among enemy soldiers a yearning for their family, a yearning for their country and then appeal to their patriotism, their love of their race. He also taught the cadres of the party who were working in foreign countries to combine patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

Despite the fact that he was active overseas and active within a very broad region in which his responsibility was very large, Nguyen Ai Quoc still concerned himself night and day with the revolutionary movement at home. During the years and months he was illegally imprisoned by the British

imperialists in Hong Kong (from June 1931 to early 1933), years during which he was locked up in a separate cell and lived a very hard life, he never once stopped thinking about the Indochinese revolutionary movement and the steps being taken by the party.

Under the correct leadership of the Communist International, under the close, detailed guidance provided by Nguyen Ai Quoc and the leadership committee of the party overseas, which was headed by Le Hong Phong, and thanks to the corps of cadres and party members who had been challenged and tempered in the flames of revolutionary struggle and had mingled among the masses, "our party has survived and continues to struggle despite the terror. A new wave of revolution is surging and drawing into the revolutionary struggle all the masses, even the most backward, even the ethnic minorities that have never participated in revolutionary struggle...

Our Indochinese Communist Party is the staunch vanguard unit of the Indochinese proletariat, there is nothing that can shake it. Only such a party is capable of reorganizing the force of cadres, maintaining ties with the masses and issuing secret leaflets, books and newspapers to lead the struggles of workers and peasants. Our party is the only organizing force, the only attacking force of the Indochinese revolution."(13)

Upon his escape from the imperialist prison, Nguyen Ai Quoc returned to the Soviet Union. He immediately immersed himself in study and continued to follow the revolutionary movement in Indochina and Southeast Asia. He was very concerned with providing training to the cadres and members of our party and a number of fraternal parties in the colonies in Marxism-Leninism and work experience.

In July, 1935, while attending the 7th Congress of the Communist International as the delegate of the Far Eastern Bureau, Nguyen Ai Quoc contributed many ideas to the congress. At the same time, he did his best to help the delegation from our party led by Le Hong Phong to complete its mission at the congress.

In July, 1936, correctly applying the resolution of the congress of the Communist International to the specific circumstances of Indochina, the plenum of the Party Central Committee chaired by Le Hong Phong, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, decided to establish the Anti-Imperialist Indochinese Popular Front (which was later renamed the Indochinese Democratic Front) with a view toward rallying every democratic and progressive force, struggling against the enemy, specifically the French fascists and French colonial reactionaries, supporting the French Popular Front, demanding democratic freedoms and improved living conditions for the people, resisting fascist aggression and maintaining world peace.

At that time, Nguyen Ai Quoc was studying at the Institute of Nationality and Colonial Studies in the Soviet Union. He attentively followed the development of the democratic movement in Indochina and fervently desired to return home to join the Party Central Committee in personally leading the movement. In late 1938, in performance of the task assigned to him by the Communist International, he travelled to China to conduct activities. Between February

and July, 1939, while waiting for travel to Vietnam to be arranged, Nguyen Ai Quoc, in his "Letters from China," written under the pen name P.C. Line, sent many articles that were published in NOTRE VOIX Newspaper (OUR VOICE), the public weekly newspaper of the party published in Hanoi. These newspaper articles denounced the barbarous crimes of the Japanese fascists and introduced readers to the struggle being waged by the Chinese against Japan. Some of his articles also exposed the Chinese Trotskyites as the lackeys of the Japanese fascists and the international fascists. "The Trotskyites are not only the enemy of communism, they are also the enemy of democracy and progress. They are the worst kind of traitors and spies."(14) In a letter to our Party Central Committee, Nguyen Ai Quoc presented correct ideas concerning leadership strategy and tactics in the period of the Indochinese Democratic Front. He summarized these ideas in a report to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in July, 1939:

Slogans of the struggle: during the period in which the Popular Front government is in power in France, "the party should not make demands that are too high (for national independence, a parliament and so forth) but should, instead, only demand the democratic rights of freedom, assembly...demand the pardon of all political prisoners and struggle to have the activities of the party legalized."(15)

Concerning the issue of a front: "To achieve the above mentioned objectives, every effort must be made to organize a broad national democratic front. This front must not only consist of Indochinese, but also include progressive Frenchmen in Indochina. It must encompass not only the laboring people, but also the national bourgeoisie.

The party's attitude toward the national bourgeoisie must be one of resourcefulness and flexibility. Every effort must be made to attract them to and keep them within the front, to encourage them to take action, if possible, and isolate them politically, if necessary. Everything possible must be done to avoid leaving them outside the front because this would push them into the hands of the reactionaries, would strengthen the forces of the reactionaries."(16)

The leadership role of the party: "The party cannot demand that the front recognize its leadership, rather, it must show itself to be the most loyal, most active and most honest component of the front. The party can only ascend to the leadership position when, in the course of its day to day struggle and work, the correct policies and the leadership ability of the party are recognized by the broad masses.

To perform the task mentioned above, the party must wage a relentless struggle against factionalism and organize the systematic system of Marxism-Leninism to raise the cultural and political levels of party members. Assistance must be provided to improve the qualifications of cadres who are not in the party. Close ties must be maintained with the French Communist Party."(17)

Nguyen Ai Quoc also reminded the Party Central Committee of the need to be fully vigilant in the face of the aggressive designs of the Japanese fascists...and the need to strip away the mask of the Trotskyites who serve as



the lackeys of the fascists, "the need to annihilate them politically." (18) He reminded the party to control the party press in order to avoid technical and political shortcomings.

The ideas presented above reflected the creative application of the resolution of the 7th Congress of the Communist International to the specific conditions of Indochina during the period of the democratic campaign.

Under the light of that resolution and under the correct leadership of Nguyen Ai Quoc and the party, the struggle for democratic freedoms, for improved living conditions for our people became a widespread mass movement, attracted the broad masses and, in this way, taught political consciousness to millions. On the momentum of development of the revolutionary movement of the masses, the prestige of the party and Nguyen Ai Quoc was further enhanced and became firmly established among the masses.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Dong duong"[Indochina](two articles with the same title printed in TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 14, April and No 15, May 1921).
2. Excerpt from "Dau tranh cho nen doc lap cua Dong duong"[Struggling for the Independence of Indochina], printed in THU TIN QUOC TE Journal, No 18, 1924.
3. Excerpt from an article entitled "Hay cuu lay nhung nguoi cach mang Dong duong!"[Let Us Rescue the Revolutionaries of Indochina!] printed in THU TIN QUOC TE Journal, No 44, 1930.
4. Excerpt from "Dong tranh cho nen doc lap...".
5. See: "Dong chi Nguyen Ai Quoc voi cao trao cach mang 1930-1931 va Xo viet Nghe tinh"[Nguyen Ai Quoc and the 1930-1931 Revolutionary Movement and the Nghe Tinh Soviets] printed in TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 6, 1983.
6. See the report by Nguyen Ai Quoc to the Far Eastern Bureau dated 28 January 1931 (on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
7. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Dong duong duoi luoi guom cua de quoc Phap"[Indochina Under the Saber of French Imperialism], report to the Communist International in February, 1931 (on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
8. Ibid.
9. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Khung bo trang o Dong duong"[White Terror in Indochina] (12 September 1931)(on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
10. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Dong duong duoi luoi guom cua de quoc Phap"...

11. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Khuong bo trang o Dong duong"...
12. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap"[Complete Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1983, Volume 3, p 24.
13. Nguyen [as published]: "Ky niem lan thu tu ngay thanh lap Dang cong san Dong duong"[The 4th Anniversary of the Founding of the Indochinese Communist Party](on file at the Archives Department of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
14. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap"[Complete Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 3, p 99.
15. Ibid, p 114.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p 115.
18. Ibid.

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CSO: 4210/18

STUDIES: THE LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--  
CARRYING OUT THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 54-60

[Article by Quyet Tien]

[Text] This is a universal truth of the socialist revolution and socialist construction which genuine revolutionaries in all countries must observe if they want to faithfully serve the interests of the working class and laboring people.

In fact, carrying out the proletarian revolution or socialist revolution, regardless of their form, became a necessity long ago as a result of the objective development of capitalist society.

On the basis of analyzing the antagonisms within capitalist society, Marx and Engels reached the conclusion that a proletarian revolution had to be carried out to put the working class in control of state power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Against the background of what was then still laissez faire capitalism, Marx and Engels maintained that the proletarian revolution had to be simultaneously carried out in many countries, at least within the main capitalist countries, in order to win victory. Moreover, this revolution had to be carried out by means of violent force (except in the cases of Great Britain and the United States, which were countries in which militarism had not yet developed), had to crush the old state apparatus and establish the new state apparatus of the proletariat. Marx and Engels also proposed the thinking of an alliance between the proletarian movement and the peasant movement.

Developing upon this thinking of Marx and Engels in the new age of world history, the age in which capitalism became imperialism, Lenin set forth a complete theory on the proletarian revolution.

He maintained that in the stage of imperialism, the proletarian revolution had become an immediate issue because the contradictions within the imperialist system had ripened and because the material premises of socialism had been fully prepared.

Imperialism is parasitic, corrupt and dying capitalism, is the fullest possible material preparation for socialism, is the "night before the proletarian revolution." In this age, especially since the victory of the great Russian October Revolution, the proletarian movement in the capitalist countries can and must align itself with the liberation movements in the oppressed nations to form a common front opposing international imperialism.

On the basis of the law of the uneven development of capitalism in the stage of imperialism, the law which leads to the uneven development of the proletarian revolution in the different countries, Lenin asserted that the proletarian revolution could break out and win victory in a number of countries, even in one country--this country need not be the most economically developed country but could, to the contrary, be a country that has a less well developed economy but is the weakest link in the imperialist chain. This very important and creative argument advanced by Lenin would later be proven totally correct by the realities of history.

Together with the basic argument mentioned above, Lenin also advanced and proved many new arguments concerning the principles underlying the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution. They were arguments concerning the revolutionary situation; the moving forces behind and the stages of development of the socialist revolution; the laws of development of the world revolutionary process; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the allies of the proletariat; the leadership role of the communist party in transforming society through revolution, etc.

We know that the proletarian revolution is the most profound and thorough revolution in the history of man. It is also a comprehensive, long-range and complex revolution filled with difficulties. The profound, thorough, comprehensive and long-range nature of this revolution is the result of the objectives, the substance and the characteristics of the revolution itself.

The objectives of the proletarian revolution are not to replace one form of exploitation with another or rule by one class of exploiters with rule by another class of exploiters, rather, they are to abolish each form of exploitation and class rule, put the laboring people in the position of master of society, build a classless society in which there is no exploitation of man by man and build a civilized and happy society for each and every laborer.

In view of these objectives, the proletarian revolution must, of course, be comprehensive in nature, that is, it must be carried out in all fields, the fields of politics, economics, culture and ideology. However, the economic field is the most basic field of social life. Therefore, the proletarian revolution is primarily a socio-economic revolution. As Marx said: the economic liberation of the working class is a great objective that every political movement of the proletariat must support. Such an economic liberation of necessity must include the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation, the liberation of the production forces of all society and the strong development of production forces, on the basis of which it is necessary to abolish the exploitation of man by man and eventually abolish the classes, in general. This is the fundamental socio-economic theme of the proletarian revolution.

Of course, to achieve economic liberation, the proletariat must first successfully carry out a political revolution, topple the rule of the bourgeoisie and seize political power for itself and all laboring people. These are the indispensable prerequisites to achieving economic liberation.

However, the proletarian revolution is not only socio-economic and political in nature. It is also ideological and cultural. That is, it must liberate the laboring people from the chains of spiritual slavery, establish the scientific world view of Marxism and the communist philosophy of life, establish a new culture and mold new, socialist persons, persons who possess the consciousness of collective ownership, constantly raise their cultural, scientific and technical levels, possess the new attitude toward work, possess ardent patriotism and the pure proletarian international spirit.

Thus, the comprehensive definition of the proletarian revolution is a political, economic, cultural and ideological revolution to thoroughly transform the old society and establish every aspect of the new society. Thus, it must, of necessity, consist of both socialist transformation and socialist construction. These two elements are closely interrelated, with the most important one being socialist construction. Of course, these two elements of the proletarian revolution are carried out through the sharp struggle against class enemies at home and abroad and by overcoming the negative thinking and actions among the laboring people, including their vanguard class and party.

In contrast to prior revolutions in the history of mankind, the proletarian revolution has the following special characteristics: it establishes majority political rule by the laboring people in place of minority rule by exploiters. Seizing state power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be considered the start of the proletarian revolution, not its conclusion, because socialist production relations and the various forms of the socialist economy cannot come into being within the old society but must be built from the very beginning on the basis of the victory of the political revolution. The proletarian revolution not only raises the cultural level of the people very much, it also must cause the laboring people to make a complete break with the ideology of the exploiting classes and each decadent custom of the old society. This is something that no prior revolution ever defined as its task or carried out successfully.

In view of these themes and characteristics, the proletarian revolution is not only a comprehensive revolution, it is also a very profound and thorough revolution. As a result, it is also a very difficult, complicated and long revolution, one in which it is necessary to wage very decisive struggles against each class enemy and overcome the reaction by spontaneous capitalist powers, the obstacles they erect and the decadent customs of the old society.

This demands the clearsighted and steadfast leadership of the vanguard party of the working class, the most progressive class in the history of mankind, and powerful revolutionary forces in order to hope to win victory for the proletarian revolution.

The vanguard party must represent the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class, represent bravery, sacrifice and loyal devotion to the interests of all laboring people. It must possess very strict discipline and have close ties with the laboring masses. In particular, it must possess the wisdom of a Marxist-Leninist party; be able to adopt correct lines, strategies and tactics; be able to mobilize and organize the masses in the successful implementation of the lines, strategies and tactics advanced by it; be able to coordinate immediate and long-range objectives, coordinate rigid principles with flexible tactics, coordinate strength at home with the strength of international support. Such a party, of course, must possess the pure proletarian international spirit.

Among the forces of the proletarian revolution, the alliance between manual workers and laboring farmers stands out above the others. These are the two basic classes that combine to form the main force army of the revolution, which is led by the working class. Of course, in addition to these two classes, the forces of the proletarian revolution can also consist of other strata of laborers and, in socialist construction, they include, of necessity, the stratum of socialist intellectuals.

All of the matters discussed above, from the leadership provided by the party of the working class to the forces of the revolution were long ago defined by Marxism-Leninism as the important elements of the strategy of the proletarian revolution. And it is these elements that create the profoundly popular and noble international nature of the proletarian revolution.

One of the very important matters of theory and practice in the proletarian revolution is the way by which political power is seized or the form that the struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution takes.

Marxism-Leninism maintains that the fundamental issue in every revolution is political power. Only through the use of violent revolutionary force by the masses to crush the violent counter-revolutionary force of the exploiting, ruling classes is it possible to put political power into the hands of the laboring people and build the new society. This is because the exploiting classes never willingly withdraw from the political arena, give up their power or cease to oppress and exploit the laboring people.

According to Marx and Engels, violent force is the midwife of each old society that is about to give birth to a new society. Lenin maintained that this thinking concerning violent revolutionary force is the foundation of the entire doctrine of Marx and Engels. He asserted: according to general laws, the bourgeois state only gives way to the proletarian state in the face of violent revolution. This conclusion retains its original value today.

It must be emphasized that whether or not violent revolutionary force is employed by the masses to crush the state apparatus of the exploiting classes and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat state is the basic standard for distinguishing between Marxist-Leninists and opportunists of all shades.

Of course, there are many forms of violent revolutionary force: armed uprisings, revolutionary war, mass uprisings coordinated with attacks by the

revolutionary armed forces, mass uprisings backed or supported by the revolutionary armed forces, etc. Examined from another perspective, violent revolutionary force can be employed in a peaceful or non-peaceful manner. This primarily depends upon the specific characteristics of each country, the specific comparison of forces between the opposing forces and the degree and form of resistance by the exploiting classes. Communists always want to win victory with the fewest possible losses and casualties. However, it must be realized that, in view of the existence of imperialism and militarism, possibilities for a peaceful transition to socialism are very precious and rare. Therefore, when leading a revolution, communists must always prepare for both possibilities: a non-peaceful transition and a peaceful transition. However, they must primarily prepare themselves for a non-peaceful transition. It is very dangerous to harbor the illusion of an easy, peaceful transition.

Marxism-Leninism does not reject parliamentary struggle, which is one of the forms of peaceful development of the revolution. Parliamentary struggle is beneficial to the revolution if it is carried out correctly, carried out in the revolutionary spirit and has the purposes of exposing the enemy and awakening the revolutionary consciousness of the laboring masses. However, the very best that parliamentary struggle can do is only support the revolutionary struggle being waged by the masses outside the parliament under the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninist party. It is both a mistake and dangerous to consider parliamentary struggle to be the only or the primary form of revolution. Parties that hold exclusively to parliamentary struggle have had to pay a high price for their mistakes.

One important matter of theory (and practice, as well) that is closely related to the proletarian revolution (or, more correctly stated, is part of the process of evolution from capitalism to socialism) is the theory of continuous revolution, of evolution from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

The thinking concerning continuous revolution, which was first advanced by Marx and Engels, is based on the requirement of performing the immediate tasks of the revolution so that the final objective of the proletariat can be gradually achieved. Marx and Engels said that the interests and tasks of communists lie in insuring that a state of continuous revolution exists until the proletariat seizes state power, abolishes private ownership and builds the new society. Until the immediate conditions exist for a proletarian revolution, the proletariat, acting as an independent political force, must participate in the bourgeois democratic revolution against the feudal dictatorship; once victory has been won, the proletariat can, depending upon its forces and organization, usher in the stage of the socialist revolution. Lenin maintained that in the age of imperialism, the issue facing the proletariat is not only to support the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic revolution or participate in this revolution, but also to struggle to seize leadership of this revolution and turn it into a new style bourgeois democratic revolution. This revolution must be carried out on the basis of the alliance between the proletariat and farmers and have the objective of establishing the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of workers and farmers. Lenin pointed out that the more thorough the bourgeois democratic revolution is, the more favorable are the conditions created for the subsequent struggle

by the proletariat to build socialism. And, to turn the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, the proletariat must firmly maintain and strengthen its leadership of the revolution, establish and strengthen its alliance with laboring farmers and lay the foundation for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Also in the age of imperialism, Lenin maintained that the transition to socialism on a worldwide scale must be carried out through a close alliance between the proletarian movement in the capitalist imperialist countries and the national liberation movement, with the slogan here being "proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!"

The realities of the revolution in various countries over the past half century and more have proven that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the proletarian revolution are totally correct. The birth of numerous socialist countries on all continents and the formation and rapid growth of the world socialist system prove that the inevitability of the proletarian revolution, once theory, has become vivid reality in the life of many nations. This is not to mention a number of other nations that have decided to lean toward socialism in the development of their country.

Facts have also proven that the use of violent revolutionary force to crush the violent counter-revolutionary force of the enemy is the universal truth of the proletarian revolution in our times. Using the invincible strength of the organized and sometimes armed masses to crush the state apparatus of the exploiting classes, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, transform society by means of revolution and build a totally new society is something that all socialist countries have done to insure victory in the advance to socialism. The concept of violent force always encompasses a certain degree of armed force. It is true that in a few fraternal socialist countries, the evolution from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution has been carried out by peaceful means. This happened because the proletariat in those countries controlled the leadership of the democratic revolution or had such large forces and played such a large role in the democratic revolution that favorable conditions existed after the revolution for excluding the reactionary bourgeoisie and seizing the right to lead the masses into the stage of the socialist revolution. All of the proletarian parties in these countries had the support of mass armed forces. Moreover, mention must also be made of the favorable international circumstances of these countries resulting from the strong assistance provided to them by the Soviet Union. All of these situations made reactionaries unwilling to use weapons against the process of evolution from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. However, even in these cases, we must not forget that the revolutionary peoples of these countries experienced a bitter war against international fascism and its lackeys within their countries. In that war, they had to bear arms against enemies of the class and nation and suffered untold casualties and loss of life in order to, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet army, triumph over the enemy and lead their people's democratic revolution to victory, thus creating very favorable conditions for the socialist revolution that would be carried out later.



In Vietnam, our party creatively applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism concerning the proletarian revolution to the specific conditions of our country.

At the very outset, our party adopted the course of the proletarian revolution for saving the country and liberating the nation, which was precisely the thinking of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the first Vietnamese to discover the truth in Marxism-Leninism.

Because we were a colony and semi-feudal country, our party advocated that we follow this course by carrying out a people's national democratic revolution and advancing to a socialist revolution in Vietnam. From the very beginning, this revolution was under the leadership of the party, supported by a broad, united national front and based on a firm alliance between workers and farmers, who constitute the main force army of the revolution in Vietnam.

And, as we have seen throughout the history of the party, our party has, depending upon the specific situation existing at each time and in each stage of the revolution, applied suitable revolutionary strategies and tactics.

In particular, our party made a major innovation by how it used violent revolutionary force under the specific conditions of our country. In the course of leading the Vietnamese revolution, our party has correctly implemented the following teachings of President Ho:

"In the difficult struggle against the enemies of the class and nation, violent revolutionary force must be used to oppose violent counter-revolutionary force, seize political power and protect the government."(1)

"Depending upon the specific situation, we must adopt suitable forms of revolutionary struggle and make correct use of and skillfully coordinate the various forms of armed struggle and political struggle to win victory for the revolution."(2)

The victorious realities of the Vietnamese revolution over the past half century and more prove that the above teachings of President Ho are totally correct.

In fact, throughout the course of the Vietnamese revolution, from the 1945 August Revolution to the resistance against France and the resistance against the United States, our party has steadfastly adhered to the line on violent revolutionary force, the basic form of which is the coordination of armed struggle and political struggle. It is this that has brought the Vietnamese revolution to the brilliant victory it enjoys today.

Thus, the realities of the Vietnamese revolution have helped to illuminate one of the universal laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction: the law that the proletarian revolution must be carried out in one form or another. Without carrying out a proletarian revolution of a suitable form and without employing violent revolutionary force, the process of the socialist revolution and socialist construction can never culminate in victory. This is a self-evident truth.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Cach mang Thang Muoi vi dai mo ra con duong giai phong cho cac dan toc"[The Great October Revolution Charted the Course for the Liberation of All Nations].
2. Ibid.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: POSITION AND PRESTIGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 84 pp 61-63, 70

[Article by Trong Nghia]

[Text] Ordinarily, every leader must have a certain amount of prestige; the higher his position, the greater his prestige. Because, without prestige, one cannot lead, persuade or bring others together. Prestige is a prerequisite to effective work by the leader. When the leader who has no prestige speaks, no one listens and all his efforts are in vain. Moreover, when the collective and the upper level assign a position to a person, they do so on the basis of his qualities, his skill and the prestige he has already achieved. Without prestige, how can he be promoted?

Life, of course, is not this simple. Not everyone who is appointed to a position has prestige and it is even less likely that a person possesses all the prestige that is required. In the true sense of the word, prestige is the trust that someone has earned through his personal qualities and talents. Position does not give birth to prestige, does not determine prestige. The amount of prestige that one has is not always directly proportional to one's position. Why is it that some persons in rather high, even very high, positions have no prestige or very low prestige? Why is it that when the "chiefs" at one place or another speak, they are not listened to by the masses and the lower level and are even criticized and "boycotted" by the masses?

Clearly, although there is a close relationship between position and prestige, although they depend upon each other, they are not one and the same thing. In one respect, the relationship between position and prestige can be considered the same as the relationship between form and substance. Position is form, prestige is substance. Position is a prerequisite to strengthening and enhancing prestige while prestige is that which determines the continued holding of a position. In the normal course of events, if one's prestige is lost, the position he holds will ultimately be lost, too.

In actuality, there have also been cases in which a person has prestige within one collective but has no prestige when transferred to another collective. Even within the same unit, a leader might have high prestige among some persons but no prestige among a number of others. This proves that the

appraisal and evaluations made by the persons around him as well as the work environment and the characteristics of a collective also affect a person's prestige. For example, a leader who possesses good qualities, is skilled in his special field and is in charge of a good collective in which there is unity and consensus easily has a good impact and, as a result, easily achieves greater prestige than if he were in charge of a unit with many complex internal problems. However, the environment in which one works is only a set of objective circumstances that help to challenge and test the prestige of a person, not determine it.

Thus, what is it that determines prestige? By which process does prestige form and grow?

Reality tells us that prestige is a reflection of the qualities and skills of a person, consequently, prestige must, of necessity, be determined by qualities and skills. It must be the combined result of many factors pertaining to the subjective efforts made by a person to develop his qualities and skills. Among these factors, the following stand out, the following are the most important:

--Setting good examples, examples that serve as models in all areas, especially with regard to complying with the positions of the party and laws of the state, living a pure life and being devoted to the collective.

--Possessing broad knowledge, broad in terms of political outlook, level of awareness and life experience.

--Possessing a spirit of responsibility and the ability to organize as manifested in the completion of each assigned task.

--Maintaining close ties and a correct relationship with the masses, beginning with fellow workers or persons with whom one has direct relations.

Without these factors, the leader cannot achieve prestige. Prestige is not something that one acquires naturally. It must be the result of steadfast efforts and arduous struggle by the person himself. A leader who, by his practical actions, proves that he truly possesses good qualities and talent is, like "fine wine that needs no introduction," automatically loved, respected and trusted by the masses. Conversely, someone who does not set good examples, talks but does not act, does not do what he tells others to do, does not fully comply with the positions and policies of the party and state, does not successfully carry out assigned tasks and even abuses his authority and does things that are incorrect can never achieve prestige regardless of which position he holds, regardless of how much he praises himself and regardless of how highly others speak of him. Lenin taught: the leader must achieve absolute prestige among the masses through his own efforts, through the influence exerted by his thoughts and actions, not through titles and position.(1) President Ho also advised: "We do not gain the respect and love of the masses merely by writing the word 'communist' on our forehead. The masses only respect those persons who are qualified and ethical. To guide the people, one must serve as a model for them to imitate."(2)

Thus, successfully molding the necessary prestige is not something that is easy to do. Struggling to maintain and constantly enhance one's prestige is even more difficult. It demands willpower and energy. The higher a person's position is, the more he must concern himself with maintaining his prestige because his prestige is not simply personal prestige, but is also related to the overall prestige of the collective, of the party. Relaxing one's vigilance, one's discipline for merely one moment can result in a major mistake, cause the loss of one's prestige and tarnish the good name of the party. It is not surprising that our forefathers said: "Reputation is hard to earn but easy to sell!"

Not fully realizing the facts pointed out above, there are some persons among us now who mistakenly think that they have prestige because they have acquired a certain position, that everything they say and do has the support of the masses. As a result, they are subjective in their work, do not diligently study or try to improve themselves, are not humble and are not democratic when discussing their work with others. In fact, there are even some who are arbitrary, are afflicted with individualism and like to "hold class" and teach to others, like others to kowtow and be servile toward them. They do not realize that because they set a bad example, because they are incompetent and do many things incorrectly, they do not have the trust of the masses any longer and have already lost their prestige.

There are also persons who want to build prestige for themselves but not through their own efforts and examples, but by means of manipulation, generally along the following lines: trying to win over and win the allegiance of other persons, attacking and slandering others and elevating one's own prestige at the expense of someone else; flattering and ingratiating oneself with one's superiors and pretending to be the close and trusted ally of one's superiors; trying to maintain a certain distance from the masses and subordinates, endearing oneself to or intimidating subordinates and trying to show oneself as an "important person"; only accepting or wanting to perform those jobs in which "success is insured" and easily bring "fame"; submitting exaggerated reports and embellishing one's achievements in order to gain "fame," etc. Such persons generally pay very much attention to maintaining their image, maintaining a perfect image and never dare speak forthrightly or speak the truth. In everything they do, they are afraid of making a mistake, afraid of being criticized, afraid of losing "prestige." They do not realize that they can never achieve true prestige through the tricks that they pull and if they do achieve any "prestige," is it only false prestige, only surface prestige, nothing more, nothing less.

Worse yet are those persons who show no regard for maintaining reputation and prestige and abuse their authority to steal public property, take bribes, conspire with dishonest merchants and bourgeoisie to make themselves wealthy and intimidate the masses. In actuality, they have degenerated, become deviant and suffered a serious decline in their ethical qualities and have no prestige at all in the people's eyes. Deserving of attention is the fact that these persons even include a number of cadres who worked hard for many years in the struggle against the enemy and once had considerable prestige among the masses.

Speaking on a broader scope for a moment, that is, beyond the scope of one person, we sometimes also encounter a group of persons who, for one reason or another, praise and speak highly of one another's "prestige." When a shortcoming or mistake is committed, they act in concert to conceal or cover it up and preserve one another's "prestige." Sometimes, as a result of "casting a magic spell" over their superiors and the masses, their crime becomes a success and they are widely proclaimed as having recorded a major achievement even though they accomplished nothing. They receive all sorts of titles and honors, letters of commendation and bonuses and the "prestige" of some of these individuals soars as high as a kite!

The unwholesome phenomena described above are totally foreign to we communists and genuine revolutionaries. Our party and state have frequently and very harshly criticized these phenomena. In numerous resolutions, our party has strongly stated the need for determined disciplinary action against cadres and party members who do wrong and the need to replace those cadres and party members who do not possess the qualities or skills required to fulfill the task assigned to them and no longer have prestige in the eyes of the masses. However, it is regrettable that this thinking of the party, which is also the aspiration of the vast majority of party members and masses, has yet to be thoroughly implemented. In actuality, there are still more than a few persons who do not deserve to hold the rather important positions that they do hold within party organizations, economic management agencies and the other social organizations. Why is this? It is due to nothing other than the fear of offending others and covering up for others, to a lack of criticism and self-criticism. The fear of offending others, covering up for others and the lack of criticism and self-criticism pose a major obstacle in our effort to solidify and strengthen our corps of cadres.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," (Russian version), Volume 45, p 363.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang"[On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 58.

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CONCERNING THE AESTHETIC TASTES OF YOUTHS IN THE PROVINCES AND CITIES OF THE SOUTH

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[Article by Tran Trong Dang Dan]

[Text] Cultural, literary and art activities in the provinces and cities of the South are attracting an increasingly large public. In the former B2 region, slightly less than 100 million persons viewed films in 1982. Slightly less than 1 million persons viewed new films in only the first phase of their distribution. In Ho Chi Minh City, from 25 million to 27 million persons attend mass art performances each year and anywhere from 8 million to 9 million persons attend professional theatrical performances. Some 1.5 million persons visit the various museums each year. Within this city, there are nights when as many as 50,000 persons attend musical performances. This means that the public is prepared to spend at least 15 million dong each month to enjoy musical concerts alone.

The number of persons who read newspapers, attend exhibits and participate in the activities at cultural halls and clubs in the city is also very large. As of mid-1983, the city had 232 cultural halls and clubs under the management of the various levels and sectors, the activities of which annually attract more than 20 million participants. Within the city are facilities, such as the Labor Club and the City Youth Cultural Hall, that are among the largest in the country. The City Youth Cultural Hall alone consists of more than 30 units, groups and small clubs, has more than 100 classrooms and conducted slightly less than 60 different types of activities. During the past 8 years, more than 8 million persons participated in the activities of the City Youth Cultural Hall and the number of persons participating in activities at the hall in 1983 is projected to rise to 1,600,000.

A very large percentage of youths is participating in the cultural, literary and art activities conducted within the provinces and cities of the South.

According to the most recent survey, the persons participating in cultural, literary and art activities at this time account for only 6.03 percent of the persons 46 years of age or older, 21.73 percent of the persons between 31 and 45 years of age and 72.24 percent of the persons between the ages of 15 and 30, that is, youths.

We can readily agree with one another that a cultural activity in which no one is willing to participate and a work of literature or art that no one wants to enjoy is a poor cultural activity, a poor work of literature or art. However, is not a cultural activity in which very many persons participate, a work of literature or art to which many persons respond in the city a good cultural activity, a good work of literature or art?

The question is a simple one but a truly correct answer to it is not entirely easy to make. Because, this question leads to many other, more complex questions. Who are the public, nearly three-fourths of whom are youths, in Ho Chi Minh City and the South, in general? On which basis have their aesthetic tastes been formed? Which of their aesthetic tastes must we seek to please? Which must we determinedly reject and so forth? It is truly not easy to correctly answer each of these questions. And each mistake made in answering one of these questions easily leads to new mistakes. These are mistakes that can be made not only in the acting of performers and the work of producers, of those who organize the printing, publication and distribution of books and newspapers, of those who organize cultural, literary and art activities and so forth, but can also be mistakes in the thinking of writers when they pick up a pen to write. These mistakes can even be accompanied by mistakes in theory by some persons who propose policies concerning culture, literature and art or who work on the ideological front, primarily among our youths.

The situation surrounding the aesthetic tastes of youths and the public in the provinces and cities of the South is, generally speaking, very complicated.

In early 1980, having spent several years observing the theater-going public, especially the dramatic theater, in Ho Chi Minh City, we easily reached a conclusion in the nature of a theory: the attraction that the theater has upon the public in this city is based, at least, on three factors: first, there must be an attraction in the form of a "star performer"; secondly, there must be an attraction in the form of truly funny comedic roles to satisfy simple entertainment needs; and, thirdly, the theater-goer must "see himself on stage," that is, the reality represented on stage must involve the audience, the more directly it does, the stronger the attraction.

However, such a conclusion lost all meaning when there appeared in the city to very large audiences, especially large numbers of youths, the play "A Bright Spot" or "My Ha Mi," a play which was totally devoid of these three factors. This gives rise to the question: "On what basis have the aesthetic tastes of the theater-going public in Ho Chi Minh City been formed?" This is a question which, when apparently answered by someone, suddenly is made more complicated and becomes even more difficult to answer precisely.

When one diligently observes the reactions of theater-goers in Ho Chi Minh City, many very strange phenomena regarding aesthetic tastes are encountered. For example, among three different audiences, the first being the Theatrical Art Council (formerly the Review Council), the second being the cadres and workers at an enterprise or agency and the third being persons who buy ordinary tickets at a theater in a city neighborhood or at a bustling outdoor market, the same singing group or the same play can illicit different results, sometimes even opposite results. Something that is warmly applauded by one audience might be totally ignored by another. Conversely, something that is



harshly criticized in one audience might be that which moves another audience to spend dozens of times more than the official price for a ticket on the black market! This is also one of the reasons why, after being performed publicly for awhile, some plays can no longer retain their original form and are presented to the Review Council, the Theatrical Art Council.

There are also countless strange phenomena concerning the reading of books and newspapers. Many persons purchase books and papers not because they are highly recommended by specialists, by persons who perform cultural or ideological work, by the Review Council, Publishing Council and so forth but because their titles suggest that a "secret" is being told or even only because the price of the book or paper is cheaper than wrapping paper.

One is even more likely to encounter much that is unexpected in the field of cinematography. In 1982, many of the 13 films that drew the largest audiences in former Zone B2 were not highly recommended by responsible agencies and organizations or by specialists. Conversely, the film that received the highest recommendation drew the smallest audience! Here, it is not difficult to find audiences that like one film or another simply because one actor or another is playing a certain role in the film. Even though it is true that a certain performer appears in the film, he appears in a very bad role! There are also cases in which persons want to see a film or play only to hear or see again an old song, a barroom scene, a chase scene or a "bedroom" scene that the writers of the film or play put in merely for critical purposes!

In a survey of an experimental nature conducted among young persons, who, in our opinion, constitute the majority of the persons standing in front of book and newspaper counters and ticket counters in the provinces and cities of the South, we thought that we would learn much of interest. For example, when we asked why certain plays, films, books, musical programs and so forth are not "popular," we received many ordinary answers, answers which, if analyzed under the light of theory, turn out to be not at all simple. For example:

Question: Why do you not like this book?

Answer: Because there is nothing in it, I cannot understand it! This is a reason that relates to one's level of understanding.

Question: Why didn't you go listen to the music at that nightclub?

Answer: Too expensive, I can't afford it! This is an economic reason.

Question: Why don't you like that film?

Answer: It's all about struggle and fighting the enemy. It is not interesting! This is a psychological reason.

Question: Why aren't you going to see this play?

Answer: I heard that the performers in it wear nothing but brown and black. If I go see a film like that at the start of the year, I'll have nothing but "bad luck" for the rest of the year! This is a reason based on superstition! Et cetera, Et cetera, Et cetera...

This is how complex the situation surrounding the cultural, literary and art public, slightly less than three-fourths of which are youths, in the provinces and cities of the South is at this time. However, work in the fields of culture, literature and art must serve the public, must elevate the public. One difficult but very necessary and urgent job that must be performed in order to serve and elevate the public is to determine their aesthetic tastes. If we do not succeed in doing this, we will not be able to create a model public that can serve as a fair judge in determining the value of cultural activities, of works of literature and art. Without doing this, it will be difficult for use to narrow the gap between the opinions of the art councils and persons engaged in cultural and ideological work and the consciousness of the public, which, in turn, means that we will not be able to establish the necessary balance between that which is "universal" and that which is "uplifting" in cultural, literary and art activities. Without properly and promptly defining the aesthetic tastes of the public, we cannot maintain our artistic standards, the codes that govern performances and the guidelines for development in our cultural, literary and artistic life.

The complex nature of the aesthetic tastes of the public here have deep origins. During the more than 20 years of the U.S.-puppet regime, "cultural" and "literary and artistic" life was under the direction of the psychological warfare apparatus of the U.S. imperialists, thus cultivating poor aesthetic tastes among some of the public.

Here, throughout those 20 years, together with the fulfillment of the political role of reactionary "culture" and reactionary "literature and art," the purpose of which was to make people decadent, there was the sweeping infiltration of a kind of "culture," a kind of "literature and art" designed to satisfy the simple entertainment needs of a consumer society. It can be said that it is this "culture," this "literature and art" for purely entertainment purposes that have had the most widespread, the most prolonged harmful effect upon the public here, the majority of whom are youths. The more than 340,000 books and slightly less than 1,000 different press publications that circulated in the South during that period contained countless erroneous and harmful viewpoints concerning philosophy, aesthetics, the theory of literature and art and so forth, which laid the foundation for the birth and acceptance of this "culture" and this "literature and art." Here, every basic function of culture, literature and art was distorted or eliminated; the thinking of "art for art's sake" emerged in many different forms. They tried to imprint upon the consciousness of the public the viewpoint that the highest and only standard of culture, literature and art is to satisfy entertainment needs, to serve gratuitous amusement needs in a manner divorced from all practical objectives. In actuality, this was nothing more than a piece of deception, because, their policy of separating culture, literature and art from their practical objectives was a policy that had a very specific practical objective. This objective was: de-politicizing the public at a time when reactionary politics could not infiltrate culture, literature and art in order to dominate the thinking of the masses and preventing the public from accepting progressive, patriotic politics.

In this "culture" and this "literature and art" that were created to satisfy the needs of a consumer society, they allowed a mixture, a hodgepodge of style and content, allowed, even encouraged, all kinds of absurd, irrational,

unscientific and unrealistic thoughts and actions. The foremost requirement of this "culture" and this "literature and art" was to create constant and repeated stimulation so that persons were blindly drawn and attracted.

As soon as the South was liberated, we recognized the problem that existed and set about to eliminate inferior aesthetic tastes and these incorrect ways of enjoying culture, literature and art. During the past 8 years, this work has been carried out in a positive manner and yielded certain results. However, we must admit that we have yet to completely eliminate the erroneous concepts regarding the appreciation of culture, literature and art that were spread and became universally accepted in the "cultural" life, the "literary and artistic" life in the areas that were previously under U.S.-puppet control, concepts that were, after liberation day, still deeply held by some of the public, thus creating "vulgar, wayward and even mistaken requirements and tastes"(1) and causing some persons who work in the field of culture, literature and art but lack a firm stand to pursue "popular themes," "themes that make no judgement at all regarding either reward or punishment."(2) All of these things, like some potential poison, have been accumulating and waiting for lax management on our part to surface and launch a counter-attack against revolutionary culture, literature and art. The things that occurred in the youth songs movement in late 1980 and early 1981 and the commercial music phenomenon that proliferated in late 1982 are concrete examples of this.

Due to the history of the country, of the South over the past several decades, there are still widespread and incorrect aesthetic tastes among the public, among our youths, tastes that are steering some cultural, literary and artistic activities that are not closely supervised in the wrong direction. This is a fact of life, one that exists despite our desire that it not.

Transforming inferior aesthetic tastes and eliminating these needs for art appreciation that are incorrect but have become a habit involve, in the final analysis, a matter of awareness. They require a process. They are closely linked to changing the entirety of our economic and social life. In particular, they are closely related to our ability to produce new works of art, works that are of high quality in both form and content.

Together with recognizing the fact that weaknesses and deficiencies still exist among the cultural, literary and art public in Ho Chi Minh City and the newly liberated areas of the South as a result of the old society, in general, and the neo-colonialist "culture" and "literature and art," in particular, we also cannot ignore another fact: even though they were forced to live for several decades under the U.S.-puppet regime, the majority of our people, especially our youths, are still oriented toward the nation, the revolution. Consequently, the influences of the nation's cultural tradition, of folk literature and art, of revolutionary literature and art are still latent among the masses. This is the basis for the emergence of proper needs in the enjoyment of art, the acceptance of culture and the creation of pure and wholesome aesthetic tastes. These are, for example, such needs as the need to view films that are truly unambiguous in theme and imagery and contain much action; the preference for singers who have a clear voice, whose diction is clear and who know how to express what they are singing not only through intonation but gestures as well; the desire for truly funny comedians capable of generating honest laughter; the need to cry along with actors in sad scenes

and become completely engrossed in intense, heart-throbbing situations in grand scenes and acts; and the desire to see real life, see one's own attitudes presented on the stage or movie screen, in a book, a statue or a painting. Even the desire to praise and admire to one's content singers, actors in the theater and movie actors who possess true talent, possess a marvelous voice and beauty, is a fully legitimate need.

Above, we have only discussed the aesthetic tastes of some of the public who, prior to liberation day, lived in the areas under U.S.-puppet control. In actuality, since liberation day, additional persons have joined the public in these areas, persons whom we cannot overlook. They are the persons who have come from the North, from the liberated zones of the South. They not only include troops and cadres, but also persons from many other strata of the population. A considerable number of them became accustomed to the ways in which culture, literature and art are enjoyed and received in the North and the liberated zones of the South. Now, however, having come into contact with the different kinds of neo-colonialist "culture" and "literature and art" in the course of transformation, having come into contact with writers and performers who once lived in the resistance zone, once lived in the North but are now undergoing changes as a result of their contacts with the cultural, literary and art public that lived in the areas under U.S.-puppet control, they cannot avoid confusion concerning their cultural, literary and artistic needs, concerning their aesthetic tastes. In addition, mention must also be made of the psychological changes that have occurred within them as they have progressed from a life of war to a life of peace and then from a life of peace to a life of building peace while being ready to retaliate against the aggressor forces lurking in the border areas. On the other hand, mention must also be made of the fact that a small number of the persons who constitute this portion of the public were not always a truly dependable public of revolutionary culture, literature and art when they were still in the North or in the liberated zones of the South prior to 30 April 1975 and still are not today. Therefore, it is not a simple matter to determine the new trends in the cultural and artistic needs of this segment of the public or determine their aesthetic tastes.

From investigations and surveys conducted during the past several years, we see that a rather large percentage of the public that has come from the North and the resistance zone possesses wholesome aesthetic needs and tastes. Some persons within this public are inclined toward very high requirements, even very strict requirements. Conversely, a segment of this public, although small, still has a need to enjoy things that are vulgar, still has "gratuitous tastes." As a result, they join in the applause for and voice their appreciation of the "no holds barred" comedians, the "Kung Fu" scenes, the scenes of knife fights and pistol duals, the motorcycle and car chase scenes...in a manner that defies logic. They are attracted by bedroom scenes, scenes of drunkenness and revelry, scenes of persons bathing in the sea, swimming in a lake and so forth that are improperly presented on the screen or stage. They applaud off-color songs that go on and on and encourage lude styles of performance and "senseless" gyrations on the musical stage. And, it is precisely these aesthetic tastes, these needs that have been and are helping to support the dishonest merchants on the "black" market in books, magazines and cultural products, in general. This situation is not at all

difficult to understand. We had not yet achieved perfect socialism, either in the resistance areas of the South or even in the North back then, but had only taken the first steps in the period of transition and had done so amidst the circumstances of a very savage war. In view of where we were in the transition process and in view of these circumstances, it is inevitable that some backward and inferior aesthetic tastes and artistic needs continue to exist among the cultural, literary and art public.

Thus, examined from the point of view of the public as a whole as well as the point of view of each individual and each stratum of the cultural, literary and art public in Ho Chi Minh City and the provinces and cities of the South, in general, there are not only aesthetic tastes that are wholesome and conform with the trend of development of socialist culture, literature and art, there are also inferior aesthetic tastes that must be eliminated. Besides this, we must also give our attention to the following: we must abolish the inferior aesthetic tastes left behind by the past at a time when our present ideological enemy continues to have an impact every hour of every day upon the public on a worldwide scale through a very modern and huge mass media network. As of the end of 1980, as many as 119 different newspapers and magazines were being published in Vietnamese in the capitalist countries to oppose us. And, nearly one-half million copies of these publications were found among the cultural products confiscated in Ho Chi Minh City in 1981.

Thus, at this very time, our enemies are still trying to cultivate and resurrect old, inferior aesthetic tastes; at the same time, by means of sophisticated and clever methods, they are attempting to spread new kinds of "culture," new kinds of "literature and art" in order to create new, incorrect and even more harmful aesthetic tastes.

As for ourselves, we know that "the people are the sea, literature and art are the boat." (To Huu) In the establishment of the new culture, literature and art, one of the fundamental principles to which we must firmly adhere is to base all our efforts on serving the people and "oppose every policy and action that turns culture against the broad masses or takes it far from them" (the party's Thesis on Vietnamese Culture, 1943). We must also steadfastly employ the method of closely coordinating that which is universal with that which elevates culture, literature and art. In our work of transforming the aesthetic tastes of today's public, we cannot ignore any stratum of the public and must, above everything else, insure that those aesthetic tastes among each stratum and within each individual reader, viewer, listener and so forth which are wholesome are reawakened and constantly enriched while those which are inferior and backward are submerged and gradually abolished.

To accomplish this, we must steadfastly carry out many other fundamental efforts in order to create the necessary coordination and balance. This coordination and balance must not only be established within the scope of culture, literature and art, such as between the effort to wipe out decadent works and create good works, between elevating the public and elevating writers and artists, between leadership and management work and the specialized, professional work performed in the fields of culture, literature and art and so forth, but must also be achieved on a broader scope: between cultural life and political life, between cultural life and our economic and

social life. In summary, we must simultaneously promote all three revolutions.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Van Linh: "Nguoi chien si tren mat tran nghe thuat can co trai tim va khoi oc cua nguoi cach mang"[The Militant on the Art Front Must Possess the Heart and Mind of a Revolutionary], SAIGON GIAI PHONG Newspaper, 26 November 1982.
2. Ibid.

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